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DID WYCLYF RECANT?

FEW of the problems of latter fourteenth-century English history are more intriguing than the question of Wyclyf's recantation. Did Wyclyf submit to the ecclesiastical authorities and repudiate his revolutionary doctrines? If so, upon what occasion did he make his submission—or to whom? If not, how was he able to escape doing so? The more careful students who have considered the question have left it for the most part unanswered. A number have been less cautious. The evidence which can be brought to bear upon the problem is meager and inconclusive, with the consequence that those who have written with a purpose, whether to exalt or discredit Wyclyf, have at times reached conclusions not entirely warranted by the facts in the case.

These facts are few. All scholars agree that the ecclesiastical authorities twice attempted and twice failed to silence Wyclyf, once in February, 1377, and again the following year. On the first occasion, Wyclyf appeared at what was to have been his trial in the entourage of the powerful Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who had adopted him politically in order to further his own attack upon the power which the English prelates were wielding in the government. The excited crowd, angered by the bitter words which Gaunt cast at Courteney, the Bishop of London, broke up the meeting in disorder. A second trial, called in response to the pope's command, ended no more successfully. Upon the admonition of King Richard's mother that no formal sentence be given, Wyclyf was dismissed with a simple injunction not to preach certain doctrines.

There is likewise little disagreement among students concerning Wyclyf's relation to the provincial council which assembled at Blackfriars in May, 1382, to consider the orthodoxy of his views. Wyclyf himself was not present. The council had been convened by Courteney, now Archbishop of Canterbury, not so much to secure an official judgment against Wyclyf, but rather, with the aid of a pronouncement against his theories, to halt the spread of the Wyclyfite movement throughout England in general and more especially at Oxford. Accordingly, after the council had condemned twenty-four of Wyclyf's theses, the archbishop sent to the university a mandate, which was soon after supplemented by a royal brief, forbidding anyone to hold or discuss the proscribed propositions. The leading Lollards at the university, Repington, Hereford, Bedeman, and Aston, were arraigned in short order, and within a few months had either recanted or taken refuge in flight. As a stronghold of Lollardy, Oxford was effectually silenced.

But here agreement ends and speculation begins. The question arises, Was Wyclyf obliged to make his submission along with Repington and the others, or did he, for the third time, manage to escape that humiliation?

Proceeding from what is certain to that which is less sure, it is clear that Wyclyf was not entirely overlooked in the archbishop's efforts, during the summer of 1382, to suppress Lollardy at Oxford. On June 12, Courteney sent a mandate to Rigg, the chancellor of the university, ordering him to suspend Wyclyf and the others mentioned above from all academic privileges until they had proved their innocence before Courteney himself.[1] The king bolstered this mandate with his own letters patent issued on July 13 directing the chancellor to expel from the university anyone found guilty of favoring Wyclyf's theories. Finally, all of Wyclyf's books

[1] They were to remain suspended "donec suam in hac parte purgaverint innocenciam coram nobis," that is, before the archbishop. Register of William Courteney, I, *fol.* 27b. Had they merely been obliged to clear themselves before the chancellor, as Manning (*Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 494) supposes, the charge would in effect have been futile, since Rigg, the chancellor, was himself an admitted abettor of Wyclyf's theories.

and tracts were to be turned over to the archbishop.[2] Yet none of these actions represented a direct personal attack upon Wyclyf.

The attempt is made by several critics[3] to have Wyclyf appear before the provincial synod which met at Oxford in November, 1382, and before which Repington and Aston made formal submissions. Little evidence can be marshalled to support this view. Though Courteney's register provides what seems to be a careful and complete record of the proceedings of this synod, including the formal recantations of Repington and Aston, there is no mention of Wyclyf.[4] While it is possible that a proud Courteney may not have permitted the fact that Wyclyf refused to recant to be officially recorded, it is unlikely that an instance of such open defiance would not at least have been proclaimed by the less concerned chroniclers. Furthermore, a positive refusal to recant would have greatly strengthened the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities against Wyclyf and could scarcely have led to anything less than his eventual submission or sentence.[5]

It is unlikely that Wyclyf owed his escape from prosecution to the sympathetic attitude of the government, specifically of the Commons. What influence he may have enjoyed with Parliament in 1377[6] had been dissipated by the Peasant Revolt with which his

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385,* p. 153.

[3] Notably by Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation,* I, 696.

[4] Register of William Courteney, I, *fol.* 34a-35a.

[5] The sole evidence which supports the claim that Wyclyf appeared before the provincial synod at Oxford is provided by Knighton (*Chronicon Henrici Knighton,* ed. J. R. Lumby, II, 160). But Knighton is untrustworthy. Courteney's register, the official and almost certainly the most accurate record of the proceedings, makes no mention of Wyclyf. Furthermore, where Knighton lists seven bishops, among them the bishop of Worcester, as being present at Oxford, Courteney's register enumerates ten prelates, but no bishop of Worcester. Knighton declares Wyclyf made a full recantation, inserting what be terms a "confession," but which, despite its obscure language, is simply a reaffirmation of Wyclyf's revolutionary views on the Eucharist. According to Arnold (*Select English Works of John Wyclif,* II, 500), this "confession" is but a summary of a longer *Confessio* which Wyclyf drew up in May, 1381. See below, page 159.

[6] There is reason to believe Wyclyf appeared before the parliament which met in October, 1377, to present an apology for his views. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (ed. W. W. Shirley, London, 1858), p. 245.

name and those of other Lollard leaders were freely linked at the time.[7] A statute was passed in May, 1382, which required the sheriffs of the realm to imprison anyone who, upon the mere certification of a bishop, was guilty of heresy.[8] A royal patent issued a month later corroborated this order.[9] On July 13 the king sent a brief to the chancellor at Oxford ordering him to confiscate Wyclyf's books and to expel his adherents from the university.[10] While it is true that Commons subsequently demanded the repeal of the statute which had been passed in May, there remains, nevertheless, considerable doubt whether it was less the contents of the statute than the manner in which it had been passed, that is, without their concurrence, which aroused their opposition. Even assuming Commons sought the repeal of the statute because of their sympathy for Wyclyf's cause, it is a mistake to believe that a fourteenth-century Commons would have been sufficiently powerful to deter Courteney from prosecuting Wyclyf, so long as the archbishop enjoyed the support of the crown and council. In any event, the Parliament which saw Commons requesting the repeal of this statute convened in October, 1382, when, if the archbishop had planned to arraign Wyclyf, he would already have done so.[11]

One of the few authoritative bits of evidence we have concerning the question of Wyclyf's submission which is not taken from his own writings dates from the summer preceding that of 1382 when the Oxford Lollards were silenced. Late in the spring of 1381 Wyclyf began to set forth his revolutionary views on the Eucharist in

[7] John Ball, one of the leaders of the rebellion, and, on his own admission, a disciple of Wyclyf, declared that Wyclyf had been the principal instigator of the outbreak. *Ibid.*, 273-274. Workman (*John Wyclif, A Study of the English Medieval Church*, II, 225, note 3) lists a number of the "inferior" clergy whose names appear in the writings of the times as the "most violent leaders" of the revolt.

[8] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 124-125.

[9] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 150.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 153. See above, p. 156.

[11] Parliament met in October. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 132. Hereford, Repington, and Aston, the chief Lollards at Oxford in 1382, had already appeared before the archbishop on June 18. Register of William Courteney, I, *fol.* 27b.

his lectures at Oxford.[12] The chancellor of the university, William Berton, immediately called together a group of doctors of theology and laws, and, on the basis of their unanimous judgment, issued a decree which condemned several of Wyclyf's propositions and prohibited anyone, under threat of suspension, excommunication, and imprisonment, from setting forth such theories in the university.[13] Wyclyf forthwith appealed the decree to the king, who apparently turned the matter over to Gaunt, for the duke took it upon himself to come to Oxford personally to order Wyclyf to abide by the chancellor's mandate.[14]

Other than that Wyclyf refused to accept Gaunt's advice but instead defended his views in a *Confessio* dated May 10, 1381,[15] we are left largely in the dark as to what ensued following the duke's admonition. Yet there can be little question but that the matter was not left to rest there. With the crown hostile, with his former ally, Gaunt, urging compliance,[16] with the chancellor of Oxford bitterly opposed, and with the energetic Courteney newly promoted to Canterbury,[17] it is inconceivable that Wyclyf should have been per-

[12] Though the author of the *Fasciculi* dates the occasion as *sub anno Domini MCCCLXXXI, in aestate* (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 104), it must have been somewhat earlier, as the same author dates the *Confessio* (see below, note 15) as of May 10, 1381. It is possible that Wyclyf began to dispute the doctrine of transubstantiation as early as 1379. See F. D. Matthew, "The Date of Wyclif's Attack on Transubstantiation," *English Historical Review*, V (1890), pp. 328-330.

[13] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 109-112. The account of the conference and judgment also appears in Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, III, 170-171.

[14] The duke insisted that Wyclyf obey the chancellor, "... prohibens ... quod de cetero non loqueretur de ista materia." *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 114. See below, note 25.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-132.

[16] Manning writes: "Courtenay owed his success [in isolating Wyclyf] partly to his own judgment, partly to a modification in the political situation, but most to Wyclif's Eucharistic doctrine. This last limited the active friendliness of Gaunt." *Op. cit.*, VII, 494.

[17] Courteney, who as Bishop of London had directed the attacks on Wyclyf in the latter seventies (see above, p. 155), was formally elevated to the see of Canterbury in September, 1381. Register of William Courteney, *fol.* 1a.

mitted to go his revolutionary way indifferent and undisturbed. Under the circumstances Wyclyf had but two choices, either to leave Oxford or to temper his sermons; and, actually, it seems as if he did both. For after 1381 there is no record of his renting rooms at Queen's,[18] while his name appears only indirectly in connection with the repressive measures taken against Lollardy at Oxford in the summer of 1382.[19]

As for tempering the content of his lectures, Wyclyf himself admits having promised "not to use those terms 'substance of material bread and wine' outside the school."[20] Though he fails to indicate when he made this promise, it must have been while still at Oxford or the restriction *extra scholam* would have had little meaning. Wyclyf also leaves us in doubt as to the identity of the person receiving his promise. Still it must have been the duke. Both the circumstances and what evidence there is strongly suggest this. We know that Gaunt came to Oxford in 1381 to caution Wyclyf about his lectures on transubstantiation. We also know that Wyclyf promised not to discuss that doctrine in public. We are similarly quite sure that Wyclyf made this promise in 1381 when he was still at Oxford and when the nature of his statements had, for the first time, impelled the chancellor to take steps to censure them. Finally, we know that Gaunt had a high opinion of his own knowledge of the Eucharist, for when Hereford and Repington appealed to him somewhat later against the archbishop, he would not permit the theologians present to pass upon the orthodoxy of the defend-

[18] *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 142. Wyclyf paid 40s. for two years' rent in 1374-1375, while from "August 1380 to some date now effaced," he paid 20s. *Ibid.*, p. 141. On the basis of an annual rental of 20s., it would appear unlikely that Wyclyf was associated with the university after August, 1381.

[19] The one exception is that of Courteney's order of June 12, 1382, suspending Wyclyf and others from academic privileges at the university (see above, p. 156). Courteney may have included Wyclyf's name in this decree either because he was unaware of Wyclyf's leaving Oxford or in order to prevent him from returning to academic life.

[20] "...pepigi extra scholam non usurum istis terminis 'substantia panis materialis aut vini'." *Joannis Wiclif Trialogus*, ed. G. Lechler, p. 375.

ants' views, but did so himself.[21] What must then have been the upshot of Gaunt's visit to Oxford was that Wyclyf first bound himself not to dispute the doctrine of transubstantiation in public and later, when the chancellor's restrictions proved too galling, decided to leave Oxford forever.[22]

That the Duke of Lancaster figured prominently in Wyclyf's escape from formal prosecution appears certain. Though Gaunt refused to take Wyclyf's part against the chancellor, the very fact that he made a special trip to Oxford in order personally to advise Wyclyf is in itself a strong indication that his failure to support Wyclyf in no way amounted to a repudiation. In all probability they still remained friends, for Wyclyf, as late as 1384, refers grate-

[21] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 318. Negative substantiation of the view that it was Gaunt who received Wyclyf's promise arises from the fact that it could hardly have been either Berton or Courteney, the other two persons most interested in the matter. Thus Berton's decree specifically banned the promulgation of Wyclyf's theories within the halls of the university, while Wyclyf's promise bound him only *extra scholam*. As for the archbishop being the recipient of Wyclyf's promise, we might expect to find some mention of it in the register. There is none. Furthermore, Courteney did not begin his attack on the Lollards at Oxford before the summer of 1382 when Wyclyf had already retired to Lutterworth. That Courteney undertook to interfere at Oxford before the pallium reached England (May 4, 1382. *Register of William Courteney*, I, *fol.* 9a), is extremely doubtful. The archbishop steadfastly refused to assume any of his new responsibilities before the arrival of the pallium. For that reason he would not preside at the consecration of his successor in the Diocese of London (*ibid.*, fol. 3a), nor summon convocation (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 88), or perform the marriage ceremony uniting Richard and Anne of Bohemia (*Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Continuatio Johannis Malvernensis*, IX, 11-12).

[22] Berton's decree must have been concerned with the promulgation rather than with the mere discussion of Wyclyf's theories. It would, otherwise, be difficult to reconcile Gaunt's coming to Oxford to support the chancellor's order which looked to restricting Wyclyf's freedom within the university with Wyclyf's promise to the duke not to discuss transubstantiation outside Oxford. It looks very probable that the duke forbade Wyclyf to do two things, either to promulgate his theories at Oxford or to discuss them outside the school. Speaking of Wyclyf's promise, Matthew (*The English Works of Wyclif*, London, 1880, p. xxx) writes: "This sounds as if he had been called to account, and had been dismissed on undertaking some formal condition as to future controversy. But the form is not suitable to a man who was prohibited from all scholastic acts, and the passage may allude to the silence enjoined at an earlier period by the Duke of Lancaster."

fully to the duke as the protector of the "poor priests" and as the innocent victim of the malicious plots of the friars.[23] Furthermore, Repington and Hereford evidently considered the duke a friend even after he had "silenced" Wyclyf, for they both likewise appealed to him against the archbishop.[24] Consequently, it would appear that the relationship between Wyclyf, the Lollards, and the duke, remained in 1381 and thereafter much what it had been in earlier years. And while Gaunt never gave the slightest evidence of supporting the doctrinal innovations of Wyclyf and his followers, his bearing in the years after 1381 toward those who had earlier been his allies against the power of the English prelates was that of a protector who remained a friend even after those whom he had befriended were of no further use to him.

It may well have been that Gaunt's defense of Wyclyf had no higher motivation than his own antagonism toward Courteney, his political adversary of earlier years. The duke must have realized, if he had not been so informed by the king,[25] that his former protégé would not be permitted to continue his attacks on the Church. Rather than suffer the archbishop, his personal enemy, to discipline Wyclyf, the duke undertook the silencing himself. Whether Gaunt informed Courteney that Wyclyf had made certain commitments concerning his preaching, or whether the archbishop learned of this through other channels, in either event, it would not have been politic for him to consider the case still open.

In view of the attitude of the crown toward Wyclyf, it is doubtful whether Courteney could have expected a more comprehensive

[23] *John Wiclif's Polemical Works*, I, 227, ed. R. Buddensieg. Workman (*op. cit.*, II, 306, note 2) states Wyclyf made this reference to Gaunt in June, 1384. Repington likewise commended the duke for his friendliness toward the "poor priests" in a sermon on the feast of Corpus Christi, the year after Gaunt had censured Wyclyf. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 300.

[24] See above, p. 160. Swynderby, the leading Lollard in northern England, similarly appealed to Gaunt in 1382. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[25] In view of the king's opposition to Lollardy, it is possible that, upon receiving Wyclyf's appeal against Berton, he cautioned Gaunt that Wyclyf's revolutionary preaching could be countenanced no longer. It is not difficult to draw that conclusion from the following: "[Wyclyf] appellavit ad regem Ricardum ... Et post appelationem advenit ... Dux Lancastriae prohibens quod de cetero non loqueretur de ista materia." *Ibid.*, p. 114.

submission on Wyclyf's part. Though the statute of May, 1382, had required the sheriffs of the realm to imprison anyone who was certified by a bishop to be guilty of heresy, a commission dated June 26, 1382, was issued by the chancery stipulating that, while that would be the ordinary procedure, the crown and council might intervene if they chose and arrange differently.[26] From the circumstances of the duke's trip to Oxford and the fact that the king later ordered Wyclyf to ignore a summons to Rome,[27] it would seem probable that in the case of Wyclyf the crown and council had determined otherwise than that he should be formally prosecuted. In that event, Richard's decision to save Wyclyf from a church court might be construed as having sprung either from a desire to spare his uncle Gaunt the embarrassment of seeing his protégé tried or from a fear lest such a trial be the occasion of popular disturbances or from both motives.

Yet though the archbishop may have been obliged to forgo trying Wyclyf formally, there is reason to believe that he was not entirely satisfied with the arrangement. In a letter written late in 1383 to the Bishop of Lincoln,[28] Courteney commends that prelate

[26] The order is so dated in the *Register of Thomas de Brantyngham*, I, 467. Richardson ("Heresy and the Lay Power under Richard II," *English Historical Review*, LI [1937], 8) maintains that the king and his council had unquestioned control over the extent to which the Lollards and Lollardy were to be prosecuted. "It would be impossible to retain him [that is, the one accused of heresy] in prison, even in the bishop's prison, if the council gave orders to the contrary."

[27] See below, p. 164.

[28] *Register of William Courteney*, I, *fol.* 32a-b. The letter is undated. Wilkins (*op. cit.*, III, 168) assigns it to the year 1382 because it appears in Courteney's register among documents dated from the fall of that year. However, the somewhat cramped style of the handwriting, together with the letter's position on the bottom of two separate folios, strongly suggest that the letter was interpolated some time after the accompanying documents had been recorded. On the basis of internal evidence, the letter can be more easily assigned to late 1383 or early 1384. In the letter, presumably in response to the Bishop of Lincoln's request, Courteney expresses a willingness to discuss matters concerning the suppression of Lollardy, but wonders whether there will be sufficient time to call a council for that purpose in view of his early departure for the West. While Oxford lies west of Lambeth where Courteney probably wrote the letter, yet the council and the "west" mentioned in the letter could not have referred to the synod at Oxford which was held in November, 1382,

for the zeal with which he has been fighting the Lollards, particularly for his efforts "in the felicitous execution of the business touching the Antichrist, of whom you have written."[29] Since there is no reason to believe that the Bishop of Lincoln had anything to do with Wyclyf's leaving Oxford,[30] these words suggest that restrictions in addition to those at Oxford may have been placed upon Wyclyf by the bishop subsequent to his retirement to Lutterworth. It is significant, incidentally, that Courteney refers to Wyclyf as "Antichrist," an appellative he would scarcely have employed had he been satisfied with Wyclyf's promise to Gaunt and his retirement to Lutterworth.

If Courteney felt compelled to accept the arrangement the crown and Gaunt may have decided upon in the case of Wyclyf, the pope apparently felt himself under no such obligation; for there is little doubt but that the attempt made by Pope Gregory XI in 1377 to have Wyclyf appear before the Curia in Rome was renewed late in Wyclyf's life by Pope Urban VI. Wyclyf seems to admit as much. In a treatise entitled *De citationibus frivolis*, he excuses himself from complying with a papal summons because of his health and because the king has forbidden him to do so.[31] The fact that Wyclyf

since the archbishop speaks definitely of going west, though but doubtfully of being able to convene a council. We know of no westward trip Courteney undertook prior to his visitation of the Diocese of Exeter, which he initiated early in March, 1384 (*Register of William Courteney*, I, *fol.* 86a-b). It would not be an unreasonable assumption, under the circumstances, to suppose then that the "west" mentioned in the archbishop's letter referred to Exeter, and that, consequently, the letter was written shortly before the archbishop began his metropolitan visitation of that diocese.

[29] "...maxime in felici execucione negocii illum anti-Christum, de quo scribitis, ... tangentis." *Ibid.*, I, *fol.* 32a.

[30] Though Oxford was situated within the Diocese of Lincoln, it had virtually thrown off the episcopal yoke by 1368. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Powicke and Emden (1936), III, 124.

[31] In this treatise Wyclyf lists illness and a royal countermand as legitimate grounds for refusing to comply with a papal summons. He claims both grounds for himself: that of illness in the words "et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam"; and that of a royal countermand in the following: "quod prohibicio regia impedit ipsum ire, quia rex regum necessitat et vult efficaciter, quod non vadat." *John Wiclif's Polemical Works*, II, 556.

was *debilis et claudus* during the last two years of his life,[32] and that his words concerning his having been cited are expressed in the present tense in a tract written at the end of 1383 or the beginning of 1384, would appear to remove any doubt as to the late date of the summons.[33]

Additional evidence that Wyclyf was cited late in his life is found in what appears to be, at first glance, a most remarkable document, printed in the *Fasciculi*. This purports to be a letter Wyclyf wrote to Pope Urban and is dated 1384.[34] Wyclyf begins the better with the startling declaration that he is glad to make known to all persons his particular belief, especially to the Roman pontiff, because he supposes that if the pope finds his views orthodox, he will confirm them, if not, he will correct them. This is, however, the only astonishing item in the letter, and its force is neutralized to a considerable degree by what follows. Wyclyf continues that, since the pope is Christ's highest vicar here on earth, he is bound in a special manner to abide by the law of the gospel, to wit, that as Christ and His apostles eschewed worldly wealth and dominion, he should do the same; and Wyclyf declares that this is his opinion and that he is willing to die for it. Finally, Wyclyf expresses a willingness to go to Rome, but finds this impossible as God had determined differently, and one ought to obey God rather than man.

Considerable controversy rages around both the authenticity of the letter as well as its dating. Lechler doubts the letter's genuineness because of its disrespectful tone and because it is written in the

[32] John Horn, a priest who lived with Wyclyf during his last years at Lutterworth, related to Thomas Gascoigne, under oath, how Wyclyf had been paralyzed during the two years preceding his death. A description of Wyclyf's death by Gascoigne, including this information, is found in Lewis, *The History of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend and Learned John Wiclif*, p. 336.

[33] Buddensieg (*John Wiclif's Polemical Works*, II, 542) says the treatise was written "at the end of 1383 or the beginning of 1384, ... that the citation may ... be regarded 'as an historical fact'," and that "it is unmistakably proved by the words: et sic ..." (same page, note 2). See above, note 31: "et sic dicit ..."

[34] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 341-342.

third person.[35] However, Lechler's argument rests upon a misconception of the purpose for which the letter was written. It should not be considered an ordinary letter in the usual sense, but rather a "missive or tract, destined to pass through as many hands as might be, and thus eventually get into the Pope's hands too."[36] Such a missive could be expected to be written both in the third person as well as in language less respectful than that Wyclyf would have employed in a personal letter to the pope.

While accepting the letter's authenticity, Loserth insists it must be assigned to a year earlier than 1379, for a reason, oddly enough, which is almost the direct opposite to that upon which Lechler bases his objection, namely, that it is too friendly in tone to the pope. According to Loserth, Wyclyf could not, after 1379, have proposed that "since God has endowed the pope with true evangelical instincts ... we should pray that he is not tempted to do anything contrary to the law of God," since in that year he had assumed a hostile attitude toward the papacy in his *De potestate pape*.[37] One wonders whether Loserth would not have assigned the letter to a year even earlier than 1378 were it not that Pope Urban is specifically mentioned in the letter, since Wyclyf had taken a hostile stand toward the papacy some time before 1379. He had been formally arraigned in 1377 and again in 1378 largely for that reason. Furthermore, Loserth fails to explain how Wyclyf could have excused himself from going to Rome already in 1378 on the plea of poor health, since the statement with which Wyclyf concludes his letter, that, despite his willingness to do so, God had determined differently, can only mean that he was physically unable to make the trip.

[35] *Op. cit.*, I, 713-714.

[36] Loserth, *Johannis Wyclif Opera Minora*, p. ii.

[37] To quote Loserth: "...the following sentence could not possibly have been written in 1379, much less in 1384: Cum autem Deus dederit pape nostro instinctus iustos evangelicos, rogare debemus quod instinctus illi non per subdolum consilium extinguantur, nec quod papa aut cardinales aliquid agere contra legem Domini moveantur. Igitur rogemus Deum ... quod sic excitet papam nostrum Urbanum VI, sicut inceperat ..." *Op. cit.*, pp. ii-iii. Incidentally, both Shirley (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. xliv-xlv) and Arnold (*op. cit.*, II, p. 504) accept the authenticity of the letter without hesitation and raise no question as to its dating.

Other than that Wyclyf became more critical of the papacy as he grew older, he maintained, none the less, a fairly consistent attitude toward the pope from at least the middle seventies until his death, namely, that the pope is to be obeyed only in so far as he himself obeys the laws of God.[38] Therefore, his reference in the disputed letter to Urban as Christ's vicar here on earth cannot be considered palpable proof of the document's spuriousness since he makes use of the same language in the *Opus Evangelicum*, a work left unfinished at his death.[39] It would appear, consequently, that the position of Wyclyf in 1384 *vis-à-vis* the papacy was much as Manning describes it, that is, that while the Church, in Wyclyf's opinion, had deviated considerably from Christ's law and example, "the papacy is not identified with the Anti-Christ, but a Pope who works the work of Anti-Christ, may bear his name."[40] Obviously, we can speak of no recantation. At most Wyclyf's submission seems to have amounted to a promise not to discuss eucharistic theories in public and to his exchanging the lecture halls of Oxford for the seclusion of Lutterworth.

One last puzzling aspect of the problem of Wyclyf's submission is the strange silence of the chroniclers. Knighton alone advances any information, and his words are only of doubtful value.[41] Surely Wyclyf's fame was sufficiently great for either his recantation or his refusal to submit to have merited especial acclaim. Even the *Fasciculi*, which provides quite an exhaustive account of the events which took place at Oxford in 1381 and 1382, including a description of Gaunt's order to Wyclyf that he abide by the decree of the chancellor, throws no additional light upon the problem. Yet this reticence on the part of the chroniclers is actually just what we might expect. If, as we have sought to show, Wyclyf made his submission to Gaunt, it would be only natural that little

[38] Pope Gregory accuses Wyclyf in 1377 of holding that point of view (see Wilkins, *op. cit.*, III, p. 123). We find Wyclyf expressing that same attitude in the *De potestate pape* (*Johannis Wyclif Tractatus De Potestate Pape*, ed. J. Loserth, p. 248) and in the *Opus evangelicum*, ed. J. Loserth, IV, 189).

[39] *Opus evangelicum*, IV, 189.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 504.

[41] See above, note 5.

of the affair should have been permitted to become known. It would not have been to Gaunt's interest to have the world know that his former ally had become a heretic and that he had been obliged to quiet him. Wyclyf would certainly have said as little as possible about his promise to qualify his public utterances. Finally, it would scarcely have enhanced Courteney's prestige to have the public learn that he, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had to be content not only with an informal and incomplete submission on the part of Wyclyf, but one which had been made to his former political rival. Such an analysis of the circumstances accompanying Wyclyf's submission not only accounts for the silence of the chroniclers, who would, under those circumstances, have been left largely unacquainted with the facts, but likewise goes far to explain why so much of the problem of Wyclyf's submission still remains in the realm of speculation.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ST. BRENDAN LEGEND ON THE CONTINENT

OF the many legends found in European literature throughout the Middle Ages, none perhaps enjoyed more popularity than that known as the Legend of St. Brendan. Yet scholars always have wondered how it happened that, in spite of this popularity, this Irish legend appeared so suddenly in Central Europe, without revealing traces of its early history. Neither does the present state of research give a satisfactory answer to the question: How did this Celtic legend reach the Continent? A possible solution is suggested by either of these two basic theories: that there existed direct communications between Ireland and the Continent, or that the early monastic settlements in Britain and England served as intermediaries. Basing our deductions on the latter theory, we shall discuss that gap in the research into the early Brendan legend which has so far remained unexplored. Finding ourselves on untrodden ground, we realize that our results can of necessity provide only a first attempt which may give impetus to further research along these lines.

It is hardly necessary to prove that from early times the Irish had maintained the closest intercourse with the Britons, the inhabitants of the country east of the Irish Sea and those of Western Gaul, later known as Brittany. Interrelations between these three countries were still maintained in the Visigothic and Frankish eras. While the number of legends coming to Ireland was rather negligible,[1] the expansion from the west to the east, that is the influx of Irish legends into Britain and Brittany, was much more considerable, especially in the Celtic period and the age of monastic churches.[2] The Brendan legend was undoubtedly transplanted to

[1] J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Vol. I, *Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 180.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 181 and 288 ff.

the country across the Irish Sea in company with numerous other Irish legends. There is, however, one incident which must have contributed greatly to the crystallization of this legend in this section: St. Brendan's reported sojourn in Britain. Much as modern research workers subject St. Brendan's numerous travels to severe criticism, they all agree on his visit to Britain, where he is said to have founded the monastery of Llancarvan. It is, therefore, more than probable that a local tradition, present in Britain, was augmented by oral reports from Ireland and finally found its literary residue in one of the British or English monasteries. One such place could have been Glastonbury, that famous gathering place and center of dissemination for Irish literature on its way from the homeland to the Continent. As has been pointed out by recent research, the Second Order of the Irish Saints, among whom St. Brendan must be counted, found a very willing reception in Glastonbury. The assumption that the Brendan tale was in some form present in Glastonbury is strengthened by the fact that two Brendan manuscripts are found in the towns of Whitby and Durham,[3] both of the twelfth century. For these two manuscripts we can safely exclude a continental provenance and accept a British-Latin source in Glastonbury of early Irish fame. Whitby and Durham had maintained connections with Glastonbury from early times. These connections continued into later centuries, for in the twelfth century Laurence, monk and prior of Durham (+ 1154), is reported to have gone to Glastonbury to obtain manuscripts for his *Vita Sanctae Brigidae*.[4] St. Brigid, who is said to have visited Glastonbury, plays an important role in the life of St. Brendan as well as in the Brendan manuscripts. There is even a strong possibility that the above-mentioned twelfth-century manuscript of Durham is the copy made by Laurence himself, when he worked in Glastonbury. Almost two centuries later, John of Tynemouth (+1348) consulted the Glastonbury library for the compilation of his "Abridged Lives of the Saints"

[3] Cf. G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), nr. 109, Whitby (c. 1180) p. 227: . . . *Vita sancti Brendani;* nr. 117, *Ecclesia Dunelmensis, saec.* xii, p. 242: . . . *Vita sancti Brendani.*

[4] Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 607.

in his *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae.*[5] Again it is significant that his early collection also contains a *Vita Sancti Brendani,*[6] the material for which he must have obtained in Glastonbury. There can, in fact, be little doubt that this place was the center for the dissemination of most Irish legends in general and certainly for the Brendan story in particular.

Brittany, situated on the opposite side of the channel, must be regarded as the next step in the spread of our legend. According to chapter sixteen of the *Vita Brendani,*[7] St. Brendan founded the monastery of Alet, near St. Malo, Brittany. Even today there are found numerous churches in Brittany which are dedicated to St. Brendan.[8] It is, moreover, significant that not far from St. Brieuc lies a town called St. Brendan, and hardly two miles south of St. Malo is found to this day a grotto dedicated to St. Brendan, of which Dom F. Plaine, in his *Life of St. Malo,*[9] says: "On montre encore, sur le rocher aujourd'hui dénudé et inhabité de Césembre la grotte, dite de Saint Brendan." According to Baring-Gould,[10] it was formerly the custom for girls of this neighborhood to invoke St. Brendan to obtain a husband, praying: "Bienheureux S. Brendan, baillez-nous un homme, On vous donnera un cierge, tant plus tôt, tant plus gros." Even if one should consider the evidence of Brendan's monastic foundation in Brittany as insufficient, we are again directed toward Brittany when we study the life of a contemporary of St. Brendan, that of St. Malo (c. 525-621). Born near Llancarvan in Monmouthshire, St. Malo went across the channel to Brittany and founded the church and community of Alet. About three centuries later there appeared in

[5] *Ed.* C. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1901).

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-53.

[7] Ed. P. Grosjean, "Vita S. Brendani Clonfertensis e codice Dublinensi", *Analecta Bollandiana* XLVIII (1930), 113: Et in alia regione in Brittania monasterium nomine Ailech sanctissimus Brendanus fundavit.

[8] Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* (London, 1907), I, 233-62.

[9] Cf. Dom F. Plaine, *Vie de s. Malo* (Rennes, 1886), p. 58, n. 4.

[10] Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, I, 246.

Brittany two manuscripts dealing with his life. These ninth-century lives, however, contain extensive passages from St. Brendan's ocean voyage.[11] They make St. Brendan a Welsh abbot of Llancarvan and St. Malo appears as his disciple and companion on his voyage. It is quite obvious that we have here a superposition of the Brendan legend, as it was known in Britain, upon the life of a Breton saint, who had likewise come from Britain. Such an overlapping suggests the conclusion that the ninth-century compilator —he was Bili, a cleric of the town of Alet—was well acquainted with St. Brendan's exploits.[12] That St. Brendan had lived on in oral tradition, is indicated by the following passage[13] from St. Malo's Life: "Ut fideles viri de generatione in generationem narrant, navigantes atque ad patriam revertentes septem Pasquae supra mare fuerunt." According to F. Lot, the Abbey of Llancarvan in Britain, said to have been founded by St. Brendan, was a place of pilgrimage for the continental Britons even as late as the ninth century.[14] Since St. Malo's biographer took extreme care in the compilation of his work, it is more than probable that he used a Brendan manuscript as a source and model. This manuscript was certainly copied by him in Glastonbury, which, as we know, is not far from Llancarvan. Thus a common background and common local traditions have here resulted in a biographical overlapping.

Finally, in the tenth century, we find the legend available in its present manuscript form on the Continent, although this century was not particularly favorable to literature. With the coming of the Normans, western Europe entered a period of strife and turmoil. The destructive occupation of Brittany by the Normans began after devastating raids with the year 919. Towns, monasteries, and churches were sacked and their libraries destroyed. Among the bishops who were beheaded by the Normans, was Bili, the above-

[11] Cf. chapters xv-xxviii; for editions, cf. Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

[12] As might be expected, the name of St. Malo was introduced into a few later MSS. of the Brendan legend (*e.g.* Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat., 2333 A; Br. Mus., Cod. Vesp. A XIV, and BX).

[13] Plaine, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

[14] F. Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne* (Paris, 1907), p. 163.

mentioned biographer, who was bishop of Vannes.[15] Thousands of priests, monks, and nuns, as historians[16] relate, were seen on their way to Francia, Lorraine, and Flanders, carrying with them the relics of their saints and precious manuscripts salvaged from the ruins. Brittany's neighbors, too, were drawn into the conflict. The towns of Rouen, Reims, and Laon were beleaguered repeatedly. The bishops of Soissons and Beauvais were taken as hostages.[17] The ensuing and almost universal flight from the west to the east proved favorable to the spread of the Brendan legend.

For centuries Lorraine had been the favorite country of sojourn for the Irish scholars. In almost every important Lotharingian town, be it Laon, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Péronne, Waulsort, Stavelot, Liège or Treves, Irish scholars lived and taught. Every one of these towns had a long Irish tradition or at least Irish associations. That Lorraine was closely connected with the Brendan tale can be seen by the fact that the majority of the eleventh century manuscripts derive from Lotharingian and Flemish towns, such as Treves, Ghent, St. Omer, Waulsort, Stavelot, and Brussels. All these manuscripts date from the eleventh century, but from Treves comes one that dates from the tenth century. This most important codex was written, as its colophon reveals, in the Benedictine monastery of St. Maximin in Treves in the second half of the tenth century.[18] It is the oldest Brendan manuscript in existence.

Even a second tenth-century manuscript is found mentioned in an ancient library catalogue of the year 994. It originated in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Emmeram in Ratisbon. This manuscript catalogue expressly mentions a *Liber Brendani* which was added to

[15] Plaine, *op. cit.*, p. 3, suggests the year 915 (June 23) as the year of his death.

[16] A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1898), II, 364 ff.; E. Durtelle de Saint-Sauveur, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1935), I, 101 ff.

[17] S. F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England* (London, 1857), II, 425.

[18] Br. Mus. Add. 36736, acquired from the estate of J. Görres. Cf. A. Schulte, "Bericht über den Verkauf von Hss. aus dem Görreschen Nachlass, "*Hist. Verein für den Niederrhein*", LXXVII (1904), 248. Ch. Plummer mentions it in his edition of *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), I, xli, n. 2, and points out a few errors.

the Ratisbon library under Abbot Romwald.[19] Now this Abbot Romwald was transferred from Treves to Ratisbon in 975.[20] He is known to have enriched the library of St. Emmeram with numerous volumes taken from the library of St. Maximin.[21] It is, therefore, upon these two manuscripts that we must depend for the solution of our problem.

The Treves copy, written about 975, shows no special feature that would betray an Irish origin. Phraseology as well as abbreviations and handwriting are without specific characteristics. Two things only are certain: that this codex is not an original, but a copy of an older manuscript, as is made clear by the nature of the many scribal errors, and that it was written in St. Maximin in Treves. We are rather well acquainted with the literary activity of the Iro-Lotharingian scholars: Sedulius, Johannes Eriugena, Fergus, Blandus, Marcus, Cadroe, Donatus, Dicuil, Clemens, Dungan and many others. Had any of these composed the Brendan legend, surely that would have been made known. The manuscript must, therefore, have been brought into Lorraine from some other place. The most likely territory from which it could have come was, as we have seen above, either Britain or Brittany. Should we succeed in demonstrating that there was a connection between one of these and Lorraine and Treves, we would be near the solution of our major problem.

Early British-Lotharingian literary relations are hazy, at best, and hardly justify any serious consideration for the solution of our problem, and even the tenth century offers little in the way of cultural and literary relations. Fortunately, however, history provides us with a link between Brittania, Laon and Treves, in the person of one Israel Episcopus. This bishop, also called Brittigena in

[19] Cf. Schmeller, "Bücherkataloge des 15. Jahrhunderts und früherer Jahrhunderte," *Serapium* II (1841), 260-1, quoting "*Cod. Emm.* C 41, *fol.* 17."

[20] Cf. *Annales et notae S. Emmerammi Ratisbonenses et Weltenburgenses*, MGH, SS., XVII, 571: 975 Ramuoldus abbas constitutus est.

[21] Wattenbach-Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1938), I, 266, quotes from his preface to a collection of sermons by Paulus Diaconus: "Intus et foris omnia necessaria . . . reparare studemus, maxime in librorum cultibus."

Richer's *History*[22] and Britto in Flodoard's *Annals*,[23] was a refugee from Brittania. At the time of his flight, which must probably have been about 920, there is little indication of difficulties with the Normans in Ireland or Britain proper. But, as we have seen above, there was at that time the famous exodus of clergy and monks from Brittany. Like so many of his countrymen, Israel, too, fled to Lorraine. He first reached the Irish colony of Laon, among whom we find him numbered together with Elias, Martin, Luido, Duncan, and others.[24] Because of his great learning[25]—he is called the greatest Greek scholar of his age by Palgrave—he shortly afterward became tutor to Bruno, the son of Emperor Otto, who later became Duke of Lorraine and Archbishop of Cologne. In the year 947 Bruno and his tutor Israel are mentioned together among the famous participants in the Synod of Verdun.[26] Here he seems to have been introduced to the presiding Archbishop Ratbert, who held the archbishopric of Treves from 930 to 956. From now on we find Israel mentioned only in connection with Treves. He demonstrated his gratefulness to Ratbert for his patronage by composing in his honor a song, now preserved in the Vatican Library,[27] the so-called Versus Israelis de arte metrica super nomen et verbum, which begins as follows: "Rotbertum salvere iubent preconia metri." Ultimately, we find in an undated necrology[28] of the monastery of St.

[22] *Richeri Historia Libri IV*, MGH., SS, III, 602: *Israhele Brittigena.*

[23] *Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, MGH., SS., XIII, 584, and *Flodoardi Annales*, a. 947, MGH., SS., III, 394.

[24] Gautbertus, *Grammaticorum diadoche*, MGH., *Poet. lat. aevi Carol.*, III, 422.

[25] Cf. Palgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 593. He was a pupil of Ambrosius, a friend of Atto, the famous bishop of Vercelli, who died about 960. For his Greek and Latin accomplishments, cf. L. Müller, "Zur Geschichte der lat. Grammatik im Mittelalter," *Rhein. Mus. für Philologie*, N.F., XXII (1867), 634: "Ambrosius quoque Hisraelis praeceptor auditoris, . . ."

[26] Hontheim, *Prodomus Historiae Trevirensis dipl. et pragm.* (*Aug. Vind.*, 1757), II, 975: "Israel, natione Brito . . . interfuit Synodo Virdunensi anno 947 cui Rothbertus Trevirensis praesedit etc." Cf. also Palgrave, *op. cit.*, II, 593.

[27] *Vat. Reg.* 42 (11th cent.). Cf. also Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

[28] Cf. Hontheim, *op. cit.*, II, 593. E. Dümmler, "Das älteste Merseburger Todtenbuch," *Neue Mittheil. aus dem Gebiet hist.-antiqu. Forschungen. Thüringisch-sächsischer Verein*, XI, 233: "In necrologium Mersebergense. Israel

Maximin the following entry for the sixth of May: "(Obiit) Israhel, episcopus, nostrae congregationis monachus."[28] Israel meets all the conditions of our theory: He came from Britannia, he was a great scholar and a man of importance, he lived in Laon and Treves, he died there a monk of St. Maximin. Being a true scholar, he had saved precious manuscripts from destruction by the Normans. One of these, as we may rightly assume, was a *Liber Brendani*, the same which he later donated to his monastery when he became a monk of St. Maximin. This *liber*, doubtless one of the most valuable manuscripts of the *armarium*, is probably identical with the one Abbot Romwald took to Ratisbon in 975 and which is found enumerated as *Liber Brendani* in the catalogue of 994. Of course, before giving away this codex, one of the monks of St. Maximin made a copy of this *liber*—judging by the number of mistakes, a rather poor one—which seems to be the oldest Brendanus manuscript preserved, the above-mentioned tenth-century codex of Treves. Thus the fate of the oldest manuscript available is tied up with the fate of a Breton refugee scholar of the beginning of the tenth century. Treves, the principal city of Lorraine, was favorably situated for the distribution of the legend on the continent. The eleventh-century manuscripts are all found, as pointed out above, in neighbouring Lotharingian and Flemish towns. From there they spread to the neighboring countries, Germany,[29] France, England, Italy, and elsewhere.

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episcopus." In the neighboring monastery of Echternach he is mentioned as "Israel episcopus conversus S. Maximini."

[29] As judged by the number and provenance of the MSS, the interest in the Brendan legend was greatest in Lorraine and Germany. This can be understood if one considers the century-long influence of the *Peregrini, the Monasteria Scottorum*, and *Schottenklöster*. It is, therefore, quite natural that more traces of the Brendan legend can be found in the Old German epics and lyrics than in any other vernacular of mediaeval Europe. For such influences cf. C. Selmer, "The St. Brendan Legend in Old German Literature," in *The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, XXXII (1941), 161-169.

MISCELLANY

Bishop Bruté's Report to Rome in 1836

The value of contemporary observations as historical documents depends upon two important items: the competence of the observer and his intention to give the benefit of his knowledge. Both of these items are generally present in the reports of bishops to the Holy See. In the case of Bishop Simon Bruté's Report [1] to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the occasion of his visit to Rome in 1836, the Report has special value because his experience as superior at St. Mary's College in Baltimore and Mt. St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg over so many years, coupled with his detailed visit to the frontiers of his vast diocese, had given him unusual opportunities to observe the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States. He could combine the theoretical ideas of the teacher with the practice of a missionary bishop. His Report has an additional value because he did not confine himself to statistics, which could be obtained from other sources, but gave to his ecclesiastical superiors his personal opinions on the general condition of the Church in the United States, as well as a report on his own diocese.

The Report consists of two parts, one in Latin and the other in French. The Latin section contains the usual episcopal report on the condition of his diocese, Vincennes, together with some itemized suggestions on episcopal appointments which were imminent at the time of his visit. The French account, which is really a separate document but apparently submitted

[1] This document is from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Scritt. Rifer. Amer. cent., Vol. 11, fol. 623 to 639 verso. A photostatic copy of the original manuscript is in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. It includes two maps drawn by Bishop Bruté which are here reproduced. One map gives the details of his midwestern diocese, and the other gives the general location of the thirteen dioceses existing when he made his report. For those who may not be fully acquainted with Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté it may be well to note that he was born in Rennes, France, March 20, 1779. He studied medicine first but later decided to become a priest. He was ordained June 10, 1808, and came to America in 1810 as a Sulpician missionary. He was president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore (1815-1818) and superior of the Seminary at Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Maryland (1818-1834). He was bishop of Vincennes from 1834 until his death in 1839. When this Report was made, he had been bishop for over a year and had made an extensive visitation of his diocese.

with the Latin letter, gives a brief account of the Diocese of Vincennes and then a more extensive statement on the condition of the Church in the United States. Undoubtedly the latter part of this document is the more important for the church historian because in it he discusses the question of church growth, about which there has been some controversy, and gives a detailed estimate of the condition of contemporary American Protestantism. He enumerates the sects and their relative importance, and the causes of conversion to Catholicism. As a kind of postscript to this account, he discusses the civil status of the Church under the Constitution.

The style of Bishop Bruté, as any one who has read several of his very numerous letters knows, is irregular. At times he writes simply, but without warning he turns to ejaculations or goes off on a tangent, even within the same sentence. For this reason it was judged proper to give the original text for the benefit of those historians who might question any translation which would betray similar faults. In the translation the original text has been followed wherever possible, but doubtful phraseology has been eliminated where the apparent intentions of the bishop were known from other sources. Only those notes have been added which were thought necessary for an elucidation of the text.

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LATIN REPORT

Diocesis Vincennes in foederatis Statibus Sept^{a}. Americae constat toto Status "Indiana" & tertia parte Status "Illinois" (ad orientem Illinois) supra 50,000 milliaria quadrata in superficie sua (cum tantum 154,000 sint in Gallia).

Populatio fuit in 1800, 4800; in 1810, 24,000; in 1820, 141,000; in 1830, 347,000 pro *sola Indiana*, nunc idem habet supra 500,000 quibus pro Illinois addas 100,000—circiter 600,000. Catholicorum numerus existimo esse quasi 50,000. Valde dispersi sunt.

Oppidum *Vincennes*—quasi 2000 civium dimidia pars est Catholicorum—alii maxima Methodistae, Presbuteranii, Baptistae, Episcopates, Lutherani —sed magna pars nulli sectae nomen dedit—*Protestantes* in generaliori sensu vocantur, nec etiam sunt baptisati.

Indianapolis pro Status capitali habetur—1500 civium; Chicago & 2 vel 3 alia oppida quasi 3 vel 4000—Flu. Wabash fluit in Ohio per 300 millia navigabilis. Diocesis quasi 300 mill. in long^{e}. & tot in latitudine habet.

Sacerdotes: 1 Vincennes: D. Lalumiere, D. Francois; Idem in St. Petro & St. Maria. 2 Wayne: D. Ruff. 3 Chicago: D. St. Cyr. 4 St. Martin ver-

sus Cincinnati: D. Ferneding: quinque [sacerdotes] sed D. St. Cyr D. Rosati est.

Simonis Vincennensis Episcopi, ad Sac. de Propag[a] fide Cong[e]. relat[io]* a 5[a] 9[bris] 1834, die qua fuit in Sede installatus, cum in S[o]. Ludovico ab Ill. D[o]. Flaget fuisset consecratus, assistentibus Ill. D. D. Rosati hujus loci Episcopo & Purcell Cincinnatensi—ad 16[um] Julii 1835 cum Iter ad Europam susciperet;—per 8 mensis in neo-creata diocesi ut sequitur administrationi adfuisset.—

I. 1500 circiter in Vincennes, & circa, curandos habuit Catholicos pauperes, rudiores, & illiteratos, diu neglectas animas, amanter tamen & reverenter satis dispositas, sed imminutione pietatis & religiosae instructionis laborantes. Nullus mecum Socius Sacerdos, ipse Solus ibi omnino degens.

Duas quavis Dominica & quovis festo instructiones habui un[am] Gallico, scilicet plerorumque idiomate, alteram Anglico.

Per Adventum & Quadragesimam Catechisavi junioris [sex] jam supra 18 & etiam 20 multos aetates, annos gerentes, nulla communione suscepta: 20 die natalis Christi, 60 in paschate ad primam suscepi communionem.—dehinc 90 ad confirmationem.

Aegros invisendos, saepe ad magnam habui distantiam, e quibus 23 ad sepulturam comitatus sum ... 10 tantum matrimonia; 68 vero baptismata, quaedam adultorum & protestantium 4 vel 5; infantium ex protestantibus alios.

Ut novus in loco isto hospes, & humaniter, etiam a protestantibus, exceptus, multos habui invisendos, & mihi conciliandos—etiam de ministris sectarum (6 ibi) inquirendum & de Diariis sectarum pro Catholicis nostris, multum etiam scribendum accuratius, nempe prela subjiciendum.

Ingens aliunde fuit epistolarum commercium, tum in regione tum cum aliis Diocesibus; vel et ad Europam, aut ex illa—pro 25 elapsis annis continuum idem fuerat, vel saepius, ex tam multa occasione occurens, tale commercium cum amicis & pupillis e seminario unde sic ad Vincennes adveneram, ut initio novo conditionis meae in altiori gradu, extensiva et oppressiva fuerit correspondentia solitario, & sine secretario vel socio, Episcopo.

Addenda registrorum & Chartarum ordo & collectio, recensque cura ut rem novam, circa ecclesiam, praediola, aedituos et magistratus loci intelligerem; parum, ut confiteri dolet, rerum temporalium expers in Vincennes nempe Ecclesiam a paucis annis erectam inveni, e lateribus aedificium 115 pedes longum, 60 latum, nudum prorsus, non etiam *una* qualicumque pictura ornatum; nondum tamen constructionis aere solutum; praediola, aliunde dixi, aliquot scilicet terrae oppido adjacentis jugera quae ab origine patrum in missione Jesuitarum fuerant, sed multis abhinc annis aedituum

* The edges of the manuscript are not always legible.

curae, id est neglectui, derelictae; nec pro prima tunc omnium inceptorum, solus ut eram, sollicitudine mea usquedum ad valorem ullum suscepta.

160 jugera, quae maximam & potiorem, ex proximitate ad oppidum, partem constituunt Societati, per litteras ad Generalem, obtuli ad erigendum Collegium—sed plura certe aliunde desideranda fuissent ut statim consilio, vel desiderio ex parte mea, subscriberet; ad alia & probabiliora, vel saltem ad eventum maturoria, multis e regionibus inestimabilis advocatur tanta Societas, quam ut jam de Vincennensi Collegio consensum obtinerem.

Scholae prima quaedam tentamina per Canadensem Ludimagistrum suscepi; cum plurima iterum sollicitudine, ut major est in talium initiorum angustia, major etiam ut expertus sum in angusta civitate, et quidem vix 2000 civium habet populationem sedes mea Vincennes; vix dimidia pars & longe humilioris & pauperioris conditionis genus sunt in illa Catholici. Multi per viciniorem agrum dispersi habitant.

Puellas caritatis a S°. Vincentio a Paulo regulam suam profitentes e domo sua praecipua Nazareth in Kentucky, pro puellis desideravi, non nisi post sex menses quatuor obtinui: & qualicumque cura poteram suscepi; ad opus suum accingere, quasi per incertum, conatus sum, et priori quodam successu cum abii fovere tentabam—ante illas bonae etiam junioris viduae mihi e Cincinnati per Episcopum pro pietate & ad docendum aptitudine commendatae usum eram zelo, ad qualemcumque scholam initiandam. Illam ad Visitationis Salesianae, in Kaskaskia, conventum, sub Ill. D. Rosati curam ut Candidatam dimisi.

Juventutem nostram, partem etiam Acatholicorum, excolere in omnibus nostris diocesibus spem praecipuam constituit—ut praesertim puerorum Gymnasium aliquod possim ita constituere ut pro sequentibus saltem annis exinde a clericatum pupillos possim habere curam et ex talibus ut obtinuero pecuniis (non in regione ullomodo satis colligendis) expensam in tali consilio, redux in Vincennes sollicitius impendam.

Interea, alumni [*sic*] cujusdam equidem pii, sed nec, ut expertus sum, satis prudentis indolis, nec a studia proficientis, etsi in Seminariis duobus vel tribus desiderium suum fieri missionarium non adimplevisset, pro tamen bonis aliunde cartutis suis sub tecto meo, in angulo suo, per aliquot temporis excolendum pro tanta mea destitutione cleri susceperam;—dimittendum habui!—Alterum ad idem consilium, meliori spe ut antea in nostro Marylandiae Seminario illum cognosceram [*sic*], sponte sua ad me venientem admisi & theologum ut fuerat, & honestum, Subdiaconum & Diaconum feci & ad Ill. D. Rosati Seminarium pro mense dimissum, deinde ab illo ad Sacerdotium promotum, reducem misi a Paroeciam, vel ut dicunt, congregationem *Wayne*, ad Indiana Septentrionem [*sic*]—vix tamen omnino debito cum emolumento, ut erat difficilioris & querulosa—indolis—etiam utrum remanserit vel jam alias migraverit nescio—en angustiae mihi undique, non habere, vel non ad solatium et auxilium natos suscipere missionarios aut ipse promovere ad ordines!

II. Sic in Vincennis [*sic*] pastor eram—in diocesi praestiti quae potui: in vicinia, ad 3, 4, 5, leucas distantia locai, iterum pastor adfui, in Lawrenceville, Cheeze, Au Chat, &a.—idem longiori distantia in Terrehaute & Parisiis (nam & nomine Paris—Romae—Cartaginis &a. habeo pagos) pastor iterum adfui ut [missam]* i[n eis]dem celebrarem, Sacramenta multis, repetita vice ministrarem &a—& in cujusdam visitationis forma pluries adfui in paroeciis D. Lalumiere qu[ae] per 6 vel 7 leucas (25 & 28 milliaria italica) distantes sunt—etiam ecclesiam aliquam rudioribus lignis constructam S^ae^. Marie dei Genetricis nomin[e] primam per memetipsum benedictam habui—haec juxta S. Petrum adest.

Exinde antequam Europam adirem statui distantiores adhuc locos per 80 & plus quam 100 leucas distantes visitare—primum Chicago (225 milliaria recta via, sed plus missionis equidem via) ubi confirmationem quibusd[am] ministravi & optimum ibi juniorem Sacerdotem qui per plurimos menses non potest consacerdotem visitare, solatus sum—dein Pokegan pagum in ips[o] Ill. D. Rese Diocesi, sed etiam multis ex meis subditis, *Sauvages*, seu silvestribus hominib[us] incolatam adivi—et alium intra meos fines Chichakum pagum, aliorum *Sauvages* residentiam, visitavi—16 ex illis confirmationis sacramentum administravi. Sed optimos inter illos missionarius Belga, D. De Seille, diutius commoratus, plus quam 50 ad baptismum praeparatos, & ad l^am^ communionem 30, habuit; sic gregis seu hominum Silvestrium (Sauvages), jam plus quam 600 in Pokegan & 200 in Chic[hako] constantis, incrementum faciens.

Tandem per multa quidem oppida ubi quasdam Catholicas familias inven[i] iter faciens & ut ut [*sic*] erat occasio, vel verbis, vel Sacramentis ministrando, post 600 milliara [*sic*], seu 200 leucas Gallicas equitando in 23 dies, peragratas redu[x] ad Vincennias [*sic*] Sedem meam,—ibi de via ad Europam paranda ut plures obtinerem missionarios & ampliora ad omnis generis necessitates auxilia consilia mecum gerens & cum D. Lalumière quem Vicarium Generalem ex missione sua ad S. Petram & S. Mariam, revocatum, pro tempore absentiae meae, statui; amicis etiam episcopis vicinioribus, & per iam receptas epistolas ex Galliis, ad invitus susceptam ** habui, quo nunc etiam summi Pontificis nostri & optimi patris praesentia & benedictione speciali os ad os,—Simul et Sacrae Congregationis monitis, jussionibus & auxiliis, fruens, spero equidem illa ad longe majora crescenda fore in neocreata Diocesi Vincennis [*sic*] quae tam parva humiliter offeranda, submittenda, sic brevi relatione & ut ut [*sic*] prorsus incongruo stylo vel ordine, coram Deo paravit

* Manuscript torn.

** Manuscript illegible here.

Eminentissime Card^{s}. praefecti necnon et illius ipsi a Sanctissimo Patre Nostro Gregorio Papae XVI Congregationis de sacra fide propaganda Congregatione

Additio

Catholici sunt
1. Americani
2. Hiberni
3. Germani
4. Galli—
5. Sauvages
jam longe maxima pars
Anglico sermone utitur—
*[praeter] illos numerosiores sunt
[Ger]mani, Galli deinde—
[loc]utus omnis fere anglice.

Humillimus & devotissimus Servus
in Christo
✠Simon (Bruté) Episcopus
Vincennopolitanus
(Sic in Notizie nomi[natus)]†

AMERICAE FOEDERATAE (—ETATS UNIS—) EPISCOPATUS

De iis rebus quae aliquo modo mihi proponebantur.

circa 1°. Divisionem Diocesis Philadelphia, —*utiliter fiet*—

2°. Ill. D. Kenrick ad Sedem Novam, *Pittsburg transferatur.*

3°. D. Hughes sit *Philadelphiae Episcopus* (Vid. 15°.)

4°. D. England *non transferatur* ad New York, sed

5°. *remaneat in Charleston,* saltem per duo vel tres annos; propter *Constitutionem* quam dedit nunc, ut puto, Diocesis periclitaretur si junior D^{s}. Clansey [*sic*] solus ibi foret,—vel alius mitteretur.— & ex *Eadem* periculum foret Diocesi ubi Ill. & tam aliter benemeritus presul transferretur, sive quia illam ibi inveheret, sive quia & ipsi Laici vellent illam obtinere .... id precipue fieret. Sive in New York—sive in Philadelph^{a}—sive Richmond.

6°. Ad Sedem Richmond *D^{s}. Cullen mittatur*
cum directione ne Constitutionem introducat—id de Richmond, non plane mihi deliberatum sed

7°. *Richmondensis Sedes* in Virginià quo meliori modo tandem habeat *suum* ordinarium ipsum Episcopum—nil mihi dictum fuit ab Archiepiscopo de Candidatis—tantum quod certa nomina proxime mitteret (id in *Julio* mense si non fallit memoria mihi dixit.)

8°. Ill. D. Dubois non alias *transferendus*—non sua jurisdictione *spoliandus*—non contra *omnem repugnantiam* illius sit coadjutoris nominatio—haec tria Episcopo tam bene de religione, disciplina

* Manuscript torn.

& Diocesi ipsa ab initio adeo difficili ad regendum merito et ipso meliori bono & amplissimo debentur—

9°. habeat tamen *omnino & proxime* Coadjutor; sed

10°. Nec D^{s}. Timon. Vid. 16—nec D^{s}. Pise. Vid. 18 . . .

11°. Vel D. Deluol nominatur—ipse D^{s}. Dubois eum voluit habere—recusavit omnino D^{s}. Deluol ut Sulpitianus—

12°. Vel Pater Muliedi collegii in Georgetowniis rector—

13°. Vel *ipse D^{s}. Powers* si persuaderi tandem I. D. Dubois [ut] haberet illum poterit—cum denegetur D^{s}. Pise ut puto, bonus foret in *New York* Episcopus

14°. In *Richmond* si D^{s}. Cullen negandus sit, pater Dubuisson optime fieret Episcopus—non ita forsitan in New York; si tamen necesse foret ad New York mittatur—Ill. D. Dubois libenter accipiet—

15°. Hoc etiam occurrit vivide satis menti scriptoris: D. Hughes sedem New York occupet,—D^{s}. Powers Philadelphiam,—proponatur D. Dubois ut optet tunc D. Powers retinere secum anteponet, etsi D^{m}. Hughes amaret—mallem quod duo isti boni homines respective in sua New York (D^{s}. Powers) in sua Philad. (D^{s}. Hughes) remaneant.

16°. D^{s}. Timon omnino Ill. D. Rosati concedatur nec inde periclitabit Missionum Societas & illius Collegium—Seminarium etc.—utrumque potius melius exinde se habebunt, cum ibi possit adhuc degere—ut sub. D^{o}. Carroll, coadjutor pater Neale remansit usque ad illius mortem in Georgetowniis—& tamen multum ut coadjutor facere poterit ad juvamen Optimi Presulis D. Rosati—sed et expectetur, si venturum se proxime, significare D^{s}. Rosati [forsitan ut D^{s}. Timon ad New York cederet.].*

17°. Si desiderio societatum religiosarum quae apud nos sunt, [tam bene merentes] * subscribitur omnino ut optimos candidatos expetentes a vobis in Roma Episcopi in nullo casu obtineant, maxima exinde fiet imminutio spei debitam Hierarchiae & religionis ipsius obtinendi fundationem in ista tanti momenti Americae. Enixe, coram Deo supplicor non ita sit—imo ad ipsum bonum Societatum, & ipsorum adeo bene meritorum ex omni parte Jesuitarum, pertinet omnino, ex multiplici consideratione, evidens id fieret.

18°. Pro certo non nisi post annos adhuc, boni isti viri D. D. Pise, Hitselberger, Geor. Elder, O'Brien, Quarter, Th. Hayden & Stillinger &a, ad sedes, vel ut coadjutores promovendi forent; ista nomina dum sic pro qualicumquaa debita opinione sub isto tantum respectu nempe quoad Episcopatum—in medium adduxi, id nunc ita

* Words enclosed in brackets are crossed out in the original.

feci ut Nota 17 majori attentione & urgentiori consideretur, sicilicet iterum sic dicam:

19°. Non de solo clero seculari Americano tutum est jam omnes Episcopos & coadjutores nominari—id presens Hierarchia, saltem pro majori longe Episcoporum Numero, pro valde periculoso limitatione reputaret—longe majori periculo quoad religionem quam ad bonum religiosarum familiarum unde proponuntur quidam candidati—

20°. Haec pro conscientia mea—submissive omnino—Gratia praecipua sicut & eminens auctoritas, sub Dei providentia "Omnia in omnibus" tandem nobis sint—"Deus est in Coelo & homo super terram" qui dixit: "Cogitationes meae non sunt cogitationes Vestrae".

[Ro]mae die Martü 7ª. 1836, humillima reverentia

✠ Simon Vincennepolitanus

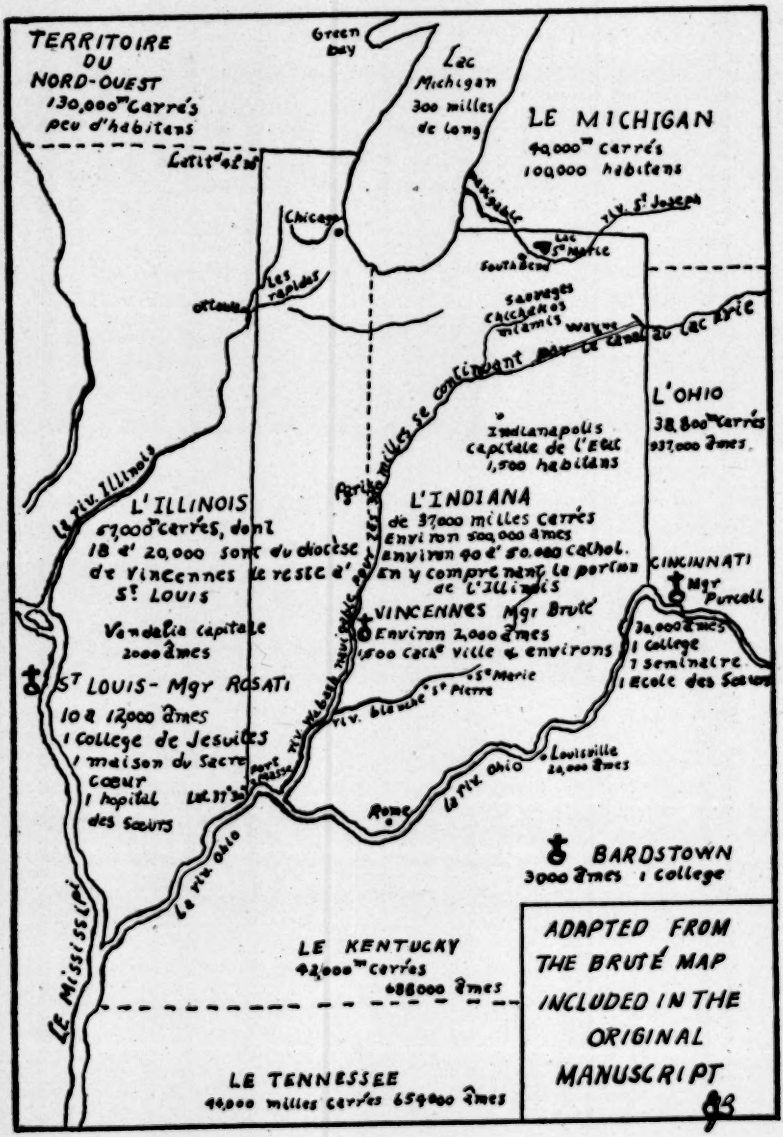
P.S. quasi per "Ultimatum", omnibus iterum perpensis opinor omnino ut *D. Powers* coadjutor detur J. D. Dubois—nec repugnabit cum nec D. Timon, nec D. Pise, nec D. Deluol (renuit—magna est illius necessitas in Baltimore nec tum etiam bene succederet illi in New Y[or]k) habere posse intelliget — — — —

Quoad illum (D. Dubois) vel transferendum, vel juridictione [*sic*] sua spoliandum nullo modo cogitandum de tali processu rerum.

Non liceat oblivisci D. Dubois jam a 1791, per 45 annos benefactorem eximium & praecipuum inter Ecclesiarum in America nostra fundatores fuisse—fide, disciplina, doctrina, pietate, zelo, paupertate omnigena sui abnegatione omnibus notum—cleri junioris patrem [et] institutorem per 25 annos indefessum—idem puellarum Charitatis vel ver[rum] fundatorem etsi prima consilia per Ill. D. Dubourg & Carroll inita fuissent cum celebri ad fidem conversa Vidua Seton—imo non obliviscandum quod difficultates quae in administratione sua expertus est cuicumque Episcopo adfuisset. In urbe New York & majores illi fuerunt praesertim tantum propter illius bonae & sanioris disciplinae amore — — — —

quoad necessitatem tantam ut ordines religiosi & congregationes adhuc saltem per aliquot annos concedant ut ex sua familia quaedam fiant nominationes, En quos bonos Episcopos jam Ecclesiis nostris dedere:

1. Ex Jesuitis	2. Sulpiciani	3. Franciscani	4. Dominicani	5. Lasaristae
1. D. Carroll Baltimore 1^{us} archiepisc.	1. D. Marechal Baltimore	1. D. Egan Primus Episcopus in Philadelp^{a}.	1. D. Concanen 1^{us} Episcopus New York	1. D. Rosati nunc in S^{o}. Ludovico Episcopus
2. P. Neale 2^{s} Ibidem	2. D. Eccleston ibi-nunc		2. D. Connoly 2^{us} ibidem	
3. P. Fenwick Bostoniis nunc	3. D. Flaget Bardstown 1^{us}		3. D. Fenwick 1^{us} Episcopus Cincinnati	———
	4. D. Chabrat ibidem coadjutor			6^{o} Ex Collegio Sacra Propaganda
	5. D. David Ibid			1. D. Rese 1^{us} Epis. Detroit
	6. D. Dubourg Defunctus 1^{us} in S^{o}. Ludovico Episcopus			2. D. Kenrick in Philadelphia.
	7. D. Dubois			
	8. D. Bruté			


TERRITOIRE DU NORD-OUEST
130,000 m Carrés
peu d'habitans
Green bay
Lac Michigan
300 milles de long
LE MICHIGAN
90,000 m carrés
100,000 habitans
Chicago
Riv. St Joseph
Lac St Marie
South Bend
Les rapides
Ottawa
Sauvages Chickachas miamis wabash
Le Canal du Lac Erie
L'OHIO
38,800 m Carrés
937,000 âmes
Indianapolis capitale de l'Etat 1,500 habitans
Riv. Illinois
L'ILLINOIS
57,000 m carrés, dont 18 à 20,000 sont du diocèse de Vincennes le reste à St Louis
Vandalie capitale 2000 âmes
L'INDIANA
de 37,000 milles Carrés
Environ 500,000 âmes
environ 40 à 50,000 Cathol.
En y comprenant la portion de l'Illinois
CINCINNATI
Mgr Purcell
30,000 âmes
1 College
1 Seminaire
1 Ecole des Sœurs
VINCENNES Mgr Bruté
Environ 2,000 âmes
1,500 Cath. Ville & environs
St Louis - Mgr Rosati
10 à 12,000 âmes
1 College de Jesuites
1 maison du Sacré Cœur
1 hopital des Sœurs
St Marie
St Pierre
Riv. Blanche
Riv. Wabash
Fort Massac
Louisville 20,000 âmes
Rome
La Riv. Ohio
BARDSTOWN
3000 âmes 1 college
LE KENTUCKY
42,000 m Carrés
688000 âmes
LE TENNESSEE
40,000 milles carrés 659000 âmes
Le Mississipi
ADAPTED FROM THE BRUTÉ MAP INCLUDED IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN REPORT

The Diocese of Vincennes in the United States of North America consists of the whole State of Indiana and a third part of the State of Illinois (eastern Illinois), over 50,000 square miles in surface (there are only 154,000 in France).

The population for Indiana alone was 4,800 in 1800, 24,000 in 1810, 141,000 in 1820, 347,000 in 1830. Now it has over 500,000—to which if you add 100,000 for Illinois, it has about 600,000. The number of Catholics, I think, is 50,000, who are widely dispersed.

The town of Vincennes [has] about 2,000 citizens. Half of these are Catholics. Most of the others are Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans—but a great part belong to no sect but are always called Protestant in a more general sense, although they are not yet baptized.

Indianapolis, the capital of the State, has about 1,500 citizens. Chicago and 2 or 3 other towns have 3,000 or 4,000. The Wabash River navigable for 300 miles, flows into the Ohio. The diocese is about 300 miles in length and is about the same in width.

Priests: 1, at Vincennes, Mr. Lalumiere[2] and Mr. Francois,[3] and the also for St. Peter's and St. Mary's; 2, at [Fort] Wayne, Mr. Ruffi[4]; 3, at Chicago, Mr. St. Cyr; [5] 4, at St. Martin near Cincinnati, Mr. Ferneding.[6] Five but Mr. St. Cyr belongs to Monseigneur Rosati.[7]

The report of Simon, the bishop of Vincennes, to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide from Nov. 5, 1834, the date on which he was installed in his see, after he had been consecrated in St. Louis by the Illustrious Monseigneur Flaget,[8] with the Illustrious Monseigneur Rosati, bishop of that place and Monseigneur Purcell [9] of Cincinnati assisting, to July 16, 1835, when he began his journey to Europe. For eight months he had been in charge of the administration of the newly-created diocese as follows:

[2] Simon Lalumiere (1822-1895). To approximate Bruté's usage we shall use the title Mr. for priests and Monseigneur for bishops.

[3] John Claude Francois later served in the Diocese of Natchez.

[4] Felix M. Ruff.

[5] Irenaeus St. Cyr (1803-1883).

[6] Joseph Ferneding (1802-1872).

[7] Joseph Rosati, C.M. (1789-1843), first bishop of St. Louis.

[8] Benedict Joseph Flaget (1763-1850), first bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky.

[9] John Baptist Purcell (1800-1883), second bishop and first archbishop of Cincinnati.

I. In and about Vincennes he had to care for about 1,500 impoverished Catholics, primitive and illiterate, souls long neglected, amiably, however, and reverently enough disposed, but struggling under a decline of piety and religious instruction. [Having] no companion priest with me, I lived alone entirely.

I gave two instructions every Sunday and feast day, one in French the language of the greater number, the other in English.

During Advent and Lent I catechized the younger [people], six and some eighteen and even twenty years old, who had not received Communion. I received 20 at Christmas and 60 at Easter at First Communion, later 90 at Confirmation.

I had sick [persons] to visit, often at a great distance, of whom I attended 23 to the grave . . . Only 10 marriages—68 baptisms, indeed, some of adults and of Protestants 4 or 5; others of children of Protestants.

As a new guest in this place, received humanely even by Protestants, I have had to visit many and to win them to myself—I have had to inquire of ministers of sects ([there were] 6 [sects] there) and of the newspapers of the sects for our Catholics; and much also had to be written very accurately, that is, for submitting to the press.[10]

From other sources my exchange of letters was great, both in the region and with other dioceses,—either to Europe even or from there. (For 25 years past this exchange had been constant) or more frequently, as happens on so many occasions, this exchange [was] with friends and pupils from the Seminary whence I had come to Vincennes. Thus in the beginning of my new condition in a higher state [this] correspondence was extensive and even oppressive to a bishop living alone, and without a secretary or companion.

To this must be added the arrangement and collection of registers and papers and the fresh charge, as something new, to get acquainted with the church, the surrounding lands, the caretaker and the magistrates of the place; yet I am little competent, as I am sorry to confess, in temporal matters. I found in Vincennes, for example, a new church erected a few years ago, from wall to wall of the building 115 feet long,[11] 60 feet wide, entirely bare, decorated with not even one picture of any kind—the cost of the building not yet paid. The church lands I mentioned above are some acres of land situated near the town which originally had been in the mission of the Jesuit Fathers but had been for many years left to the care—that is the neglect—of the guardians; nor, because I was alone, has it ac-

[10] These articles appeared chiefly in the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph* and the *Vincennes Western Sun.*

[11] Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834,* pp. 157-162, tells of its construction.

quired any value by my solicitude up to now, although the first of the things undertaken by me.

The 160 acres, which constituted the greatest and most useful part, from its nearness to the town, I have offered to the General of the Society [12] by letter for the erection of a college—but there were certainly many things to be desired from other circumstances, if he were to subscribe immediately to my plan or the desire on my part. Such a worthy society is called to other things and things more probable, or at least nearer fruition, from many regions, than that I should now obtain their consent to a college at Vincennes.

I made some first attempts at a school with the aid of a Canadian schoolmaster with very great solicitude since the difficulty of such a beginning is quite great. Quite great also [is the difficulty] as I have found out in the small city, and indeed my see, Vincennes, has a population of scarcely 2,000 citizens; the Catholics there are scarcely half and mostly of the more humble and poorer condition. Many live scattered through the neighboring farmland.

For the girls I have sought the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul who profess their own rule from their own particular house at Nazareth in Kentucky. It is only after six months that I have obtained four and I have begun with what means I have. I have attempted, with some misgivings, to prepare them for this work and was attempting to foster it with some earlier success when I left ... Before them I employed the zeal of a good and young widow from Cincinnati, recommended to me by the bishop for her piety and aptitude for teaching, to begin some kind of school. I have let her go as a candidate to the convent of the Salesian Visitandines in Kaskaskia under the care of the Illustrious Monseigneur Rosati.

To cultivate the youth, even the non-Catholic part, constitutes our special hope in all our dioceses. In order particularly that I might thus establish a school [13] for boys that from there for at least the following years I can have pupils for the clerical state, when I return to Vincennes, with such a plan in mind I shall with care devote my energy and pay the expenses from such money (not to be collected in any sufficient quantity in that region) as I shall obtain.

In the meantime, because of my great need of clerics, I had accepted for training under my roof in his corner, a certain pious student,[14] but one

[12] Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), III, 112-113, gives an account of this offer and its refusal.

[13] Bruté uses the word "gymnasium".

[14] Apparently, a Mr. Ratigan. The "corner" is apparently all the bishop could give him.

not, as I was to learn, sufficiently endowed with prudence or proficiency in study, although he had not exhausted his desire to become a missionary in two or three seminaries. Nevertheless, I accepted him because of his good records elsewhere; [but] I have had to send him away. With the same idea in mind I have accepted another[15] with better hope, as I had previously known him in our Maryland seminary, who came to me of his own will; and as he was a theologian and respectable, I made him subdeacon and deacon and sent him to the seminary of the Illustrious Monseigneur Rosati for a month. Then, after he had been promoted to the priesthood by him and when he had returned, I sent him to the parish, or as they say, the congregation of Wayne in northern Indiana—scarcely, however, with the desired result, as he was of a difficult and querulous character. Even whether he has remained or has already gone elsewhere, I do not know. Behold the difficulties on all sides of me that I do not have or do not receive missionaries, nor any to promote to orders myself, of a character to help and console.

II. Thus I was pastor in Vincennes.—In the diocese I accomplished what I could. In the vicinity I was pastor likewise at places 3, 4, 5 leagues distant in Lawrenceville, Cheese, Au Chat, &c. I was likewise pastor farther away in Terre Haute & Paris (for I have villages by the name of Paris, Rome, Carthage, &c.) in so far as to celebrate mass in them, administer the sacraments to many on several occasions, &c. And in the form of visitations I was often in the parishes of Mr. Lalumiere, which are 6 or 7 leagues (25 and 28 Italian miles) distant. Also I have blessed (the first by me) a kind of church built of rough logs in the name of St. Mary the Mother of God. This is near St. Peter's.

Then, before I left for Europe I decided to visit the places further distant, from 80 to more than 100 leagues.—First, Chicago (225 miles on a direct line but more indeed by way of the missions) where I administered confirmation to some and consoled the fine young priest,[16] who for several months is not able to see a fellow priest. Then I went to Pokagon,[17] a village in the diocese of Monseigneur Rese[18] but inhabited by many of my subjects also, savages or men of the forests. Also I visited another within the limits of my own diocese, the village of Chicakos, the residence of other savages—I administered confirmation to 16 of them.—But the missionary

[15] Michael Felix Ruff, who did not remain long in the diocese.

[16] This was Irenaeus St. Cyr, who had been loaned by Bishop Rosati.

[17] The headquarters of a Potawatomi chief of the same name near the Indiana-Michigan state line on the St. Joseph River. Cf. Cecelia Bain Buechner *The Pokagons* (Indianapolis, 1933).

[18] Frederick Rese (1781-1871), first bishop of Detroit.

Mr. Deseille[19] from Belgium who has lived among them for a long time had prepared more than 50 of the best of them for baptism and prepared 30 for first communion; thus increasing his flock of forest men (or savages) which already consisted of more than 600 in Pokagon and 200 in Chicakos.

Meanwhile, after travelling 600 miles or 200 French leagues on horseback for 23 days, passing through many towns where I found a few Catholic families and, as occasion offered, ministering by words or by sacraments, I returned to Vincennes, my see. There, concerning the journey to be made to Europe in order that I might obtain more missionaries and help for necessities of all kinds, I took counsel with Mr. Lalumière, whom I recalled from his mission at St. Peter's and St. Mary's and appointed Vicar General pro tempore in my absence. Advised by my friends, also by the neighboring bishops, and through letters which I had already received from France, I decided that it was best for me, though unwilling, to make the journey. Wherefore, enjoying the presence and the special benediction of our Supreme Pontiff and best Father face to face—at the same time enjoying the advice, commands and aids of the Sacred Congregation—I hope indeed, that these things will be for the greater increase in the newly created diocese of Vincennes: these insignificant things which should be humbly offered and submitted in a correspondingly brief form, that prelate has prepared in imperfect style and order, who is the humble and devoted servant in Christ of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and of the Eminent Cardinal[20] who has been placed over the Congregation by our most Holy Father Gregory XVI,

Simon (Bruté) Bishop
of Vincennes (so named in his notification)

Addition. The Catholics are 1, Americans; 2, Irish; 3, Germans; 4, French; 5, savages. By far the greater part use the English language. Outside of these the most numerous are the Germans, then the French. Nearly all speak English.

THE EPISCOPATE OF THE UNITED STATES (ETATS UNIS)

Concerning those matters which were proposed to me in any way:

Concerning: 1. The Division of the diocese of Philadelphia—*it will be done advantageously.*

2. Let the Illustrious Monseigneur Kenrick[21] be *transferred*

[19] Louis Deseille (1795-1837), Flemish missionary who succeeded Stephen Theodore Badin in these missions.

[20] John Philip Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.

[21] Francis Patrick Kenrick (1796-1863), third bishop of Philadelphia and sixth archbishop of Baltimore.

to the new see, *Pittsburgh*.

3. Let Mr. Hughes [22] be bishop of Philadelphia (see 15).
4. Let Monseigneur England [23] not be transferred to New York but
5. Let him remain in Charleston, at least for two or three years because of the *Constitution* which he has given. Now, as I see it, the diocese would be endangered if the younger Monseigneur Clancy [24] be left there alone—or another be sent. And, for *the same reason*, there would be danger to the diocese where the illustrious and otherwise so well meriting prelate would be transferred, whether because he would drag it [the Constitution] there or also because the laity themselves would wish to obtain it . . . that particularly would happen whether in New York or in Philadelphia or in Richmond.
6. To the see of Richmond, *let Monseigneur Cullen* [25] *be sent* with the instruction that he is not to introduce a Constitution. This concerning Richmond I have not so plainly thought out but
7. The *See of Richmond* in Virginia in some better way should finally have its own ordinary as bishop. Nothing was said to me by the Archbishop concerning the candidate, only that he would send certain names soon (he said this in July, if my memory does not fail me).
8. The Illustrious Monseigneur Dubois [26] ought not to be changed—not deprived of his jurisdiction—there should be no nomination of a coadjutor contrary to his will.—these three things are due: to a bishop who merits so well of religion, of discipline, and of a diocese itself so difficult to rule from the beginning; and to the better good and the fullest good.
9. He should have a coadjutor by all means and immediately; but

[22] John Joseph Hughes (1797-1864), later fourth bishop and first archbishop of New York.

[23] John England (1786-1842), first bishop of Charleston. His constitution is discussed in Peter Guilday's *Life and Times of John England*, I, 343-379. The manuscript is referred to II, 338.

[24] William Clancy (1802-1847), bishop of Oreus and coadjutor bishop of Charleston, 1834-1837.

[25] Paul Cullen (1802-1878), later archbishop of Dublin and cardinal.

[26] John Dubois (1764-1842), third bishop of New York.

10. Neither Mr. Timon [27], see 16—nor Mr. Pise [28], see 18.
11. Either let Mr. Deluol,[29] be named—Monseigneur Dubois himself wished to have him—Mr. Deluol refused entirely as a Sulpician.
12. Or Father Mulledi,[30] the rector of the college in Georgetown.
13. Or *Mr. Powers* [31] *himself*, if the Illustrious Monseigneur Dubois can be persuaded to have him, since it is denied, as I agree, that Mr. Pise would make a good bishop in *New York*.
14. In Richmond, if Monseigneur Cullen should be denied, Father Dubuisson [32] would be a good bishop—not, perhaps, in New York. If, however, it would be necessary to send him to New York, the Illustrious Monseigneur Dubois will gladly receive [him].
15. This also happens to be greatly satisfactory to the mind of the writer: that Mr. Hughes occupy the see of New York —Mr. Powers, Philadelphia. It should be proposed to Monseigneur Dubois that he choose, then let him choose to retain Mr. Powers with him, even though he is fond of Mr. Hughes. I would prefer that these two good men remain respectively—in his New York (Mr. Powers),[33] in his Philadelphia (Mr. Hughes).
16. Mr. Timon should be by all means granted to the Illustrious Monseigneur Rosati. Thus neither will the Society of the Missions or its college, seminary, etc., be endangered. Rather both would be better off for this, since he would still live there—as under Bishop Carroll, coadjutor Father Neale [34] remained in Georgetown even to the death of the bishop—and nevertheless as coadjutor he could do

[27] John Timon, C.M. (1797-1867), later first bishop of Buffalo.

[28] Constantine Pise (1801-1866), writer, once chaplain of the Senate.

[29] Louis Deluol, S.S. (1787-1858), of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, later returned to France.

[30] Thomas Mulledy, S.J. (1794-1860), rector of Georgetown College. Cf. Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

[31] John Power (1794-1860), vicar general of the diocese of New York. Bruté incorrectly spells the name Powers.

[32] Stephen Dubuisson, S.J. (1786-1864). Cf. Garraghan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 329*n.* and III, 164.

[33] Power was stationed at the time in New York and Hughes in Philadelphia.

[34] Leonard Neale (1747-1817), second archbishop of Baltimore.

so much to aid the very good prelate, Monseigneur Rosati. But let Monseigneur Rosati, and he is awaited, give [his choice] if he comes soon.

17. If the desire of the religious societies, which are among us, be subscribed to entirely—that the bishops seeking the best candidates from you in Rome in no case obtain them—great would be the loss of hope to the hierarchy and religion itself of obtaining in this America a proper foundation, which is so important. Especially I pray before God, that it be not so.—That it would be at the least for the true good of the societies and of the Jesuits serving so well in every way, is evident from manifold considerations.
18. Certainly not for some years would these good men, Pise, Hitzelberger,[35] George Elder,[36] O'Brien,[37] Quarter,[38] Th. Hayden,[39] Stillenger,[40] etc., be promoted to sees, even as coadjutors. While I have thus brought forward these names for all proper consideration only in this regard, that is in respect to the espiscopate, I have done this now so that note 17 would be considered with greater and more urgent care. So I shall say again:
19. It is not safe for all bishops and coadjutors now to be nominated from the secular clergy alone.—This the present hierarchy, at least for by far the greater number of bishops, regards as a very dangerous limitation—with a far greater danger to religion than to the good of the religious families from whence certain candidates are proposed.
20. I propose these things for my own conscience sake—entirely in a submissive manner. May special grace and like eminent authority under the providence of God be all in all to us. "God is in heaven and man on earth," who said "Your thoughts are not my thoughts."[41]

With most humble reverence
Simon of Vincennes.

[35] Alexander Hitzelberger (1805-1875), priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

[36] George Elder (1794-1838), priest of the Diocese of Bardstown.

[37] Timothy O'Brien, priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore from 1832 to 1850. Died in Lowell, Massachusetts, Oct. 12, 1855.

[38] William Quarter (1806-1848), first bishop of Chicago.

[39] Thomas Hayden (1789-1870), priest of the Diocese of Philadelphia, was later nominated to the see of Natchez but declined.

[40] James Stillenger (1801-1873), a priest of the Diocese of Philadelphia.

[41] Psalms, LXXXIV, 13.

Rome Mar. 7, 1836.

P.S. As if by a last thought, after weighing all matters again, I am of the opinion entirely that *Mr. Powers* should be given as coadjutor to the Illustrious Monseigneur Dubois—nor will he object since he understands that he can have neither Mr. Timon nor Mr. Pise, nor Mr. Deluol (he refuses—great is his need in Baltimore—nor would he succeed well in New York).

As for transferring him (Monseigneur Dubois) or taking away his power, under no consideration should this be thought of.

One ought not to forget that already since 1791, for 45 years Monseigneur Dubois has been a special benefactor and the chief of our founders of churches in America—known to all for his faith, discipline, doctrine, piety, zeal, poverty, complete self-abnegation—the indefatigable father and teacher of young clergy for 25 years—likewise as the real founder of the Sisters of Charity, although the first plans were initiated through Monseigneurs Dubourg and Carroll with the celebrated convert to the faith, the widow Seton.[42] Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the difficulties which he experienced in his administration would have been present for any bishop in the city of New York and that they were particularly greater for him because of his love of good and sound discipline.

[42] Elizabeth Anne Seton (1774-1821), founder of the Sisters of Charity.

[43] Benedict Joseph Fenwick, S.J. (1782-1846), second bishop of Boston.

[44] Ambrose Maréchal, S.S. (1764-1828), third archbishop of Baltimore.

[45] Samuel Eccleston, S.S. (1801-1851), fourth archbishop of Baltimore.

[46] Guy Ignatius Chabrat, S.S. (1787-1868), coadjutor bishop of Bardstown, 1834-1846.

[47] John David, S.S. (1761-1841), second bishop of Bardstown and bishop of Mauricastro.

[48] William DuBourg, S.S. (1766-1833), bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas.

[49] Michael Egan, O.F.M. (1761-1814), first bishop of Philadelphia.

[50] Richard Luke Concanen, O.P. (1747-1810), first bishop of New York.

[51] John Connolly, O.P. (c. 1750-1825), second bishop of New York.

[52] Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P. (1768-1832), first bishop of Cincinnati.

As to the great necessity that religious orders and congregations grant that at least for some years there be some nominations from their family, behold what good bishops they have already given us for our churches:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
From the Jesuits	The Sulpitians	The Franciscans	The Dominicans	Lazarists
1. Father Caroll, Archbishop of Baltimore	1. Mr. Marechal,[44] Baltimore	1. Mr. Egan,[49] First Bishop of Philadelphia	1. Mr. Concanen,[50] First Bishop of New York	1. Mr. Rosati, now bishop in St. Louis
2. Father Neale, same place	2. Mr. Eccleston,[45] the same place		2. Mr. Connolly,[51] second bishop of the same place	
3. Father Fenwick,[43] of Boston, now	3. Mr. Flaget, first, Bardstown		3. Mr. Fenwick,[52] first bishop of Cincinnati	———
	4. Mr. Chabrat,[46] of the same place, coadjutor			
	5. Mr. David,[47] same place			6. From the College of the Sacred Propaganda
	6. Mr. Dubourg,[48] deceased first bishop of St. Louis			1. Mr. Rese, First bishop of Detroit
	7. Mr. Dubois			2. Mr. Kenrick, in Philadelphia
	8. Mr. Bruté			

(Footnotes at bottom of page 195.)

FRENCH REPORT

The French portion of this manuscript opens with another brief account of the diocese of Vincennes. After that, the document is devoted to a survey of religion, both Catholic and Protestant, in the United States. Bruté, like Bishop John England in his report to the Leopoldine Society of Vienna, was quite optimistic about the prospects of the Church in the United States. His survey of Protestantism emphasizes the growth of rationalism and the decline of dogmatic content in the multiplying sects. He, also, discusses the causes of conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism.

Le diocèse de Vincennes a 330 milles de long sur la ligne méridienne à l'ouest de sa portion de l'Illinois du 37° 30^{m} de latitude sud au 42° 3^{m} latitude nord. Sa ligne de cet angle Nord-Ouest à l'angle Nord-Est donne 240 milles de large—longueur & largeur moyenne 250 milles.

Vincennes est

par terre à	700	milles	de Baltimore
(par eau	680	"	de Washington
ajouter	900	"	de New York
200 m.)	1123	"	de Boston
	1330	"	d' Eastport
	947	"	de New Orleans

I.—Le diocèse de Vincennes est composé de l'Indiana & du tiers oriental de l'Illinois & est de 50 et quelques milles carrés (Entre 50 à 55 ou 57 milles—rien encor * d'éxact.) La France a 154-160 milles carrés de surface—il égale donc 1/*tiers* de la France.

On peut mettre ensemble

La Suisse de	11,000	milles	carrés		
La Belgique	9,700	"	"	50,200	Vincennes a reçu
La Hollande	8,300	"	"	Vincennes est	son nom du Chev-
le Hanovre	11,200	"	"	plus étendu	alier de Vincennes
la Saxe	4,300	"	"	*que ces six Etats.*	tué par les sau-
le Wurtenberg	5,700	"	"		vages en 1735.

II.—Ces mêmes 6 Etats ont une population de *12,600,000* âmes; Vincennes environ 600,000! 1/21^{e} *seulement;* mais son territoire est dans son ensemble au moins ègal & même supérieur au leur!—qu'on songe donc à

* The original spelling of certain old forms, such as *seroit, tems, encor, arpens, ayent,* and *prostestans,* are retained as used by the bishop. Incorrect spellings and insertions will be noted in the usual way. In the preparation of this transcription, the assistance of Mr. Amédée Dugas was very helpful.

12 millions d'habitans, là où se commence en 1834 ce diocèse, d'abord si faible! O Avenir! O Providence!

" Dominus dabit benignitatem & terra nostra dabit fructum suum."

III.—En 9bre 1834, le 5, fut l'installation du 1er Evêque de Vincennes; un 2 iême prêtre puis 2 autres lui furent procurés; il y a 4 prêtres en Janvier 1836—plusieurs se préparent à s'y rendre d'Europe. Combien il y en aura-t-il en 1840 . . .? en 1850 . . .

Mgr. Flaget étoit seul prêtre il y a 44 ans là où il y a 5 évêques & 130 prêtres à la moisson . . . nommé le 1er évêque de cet ouest en 1810, il en a vu 4 de plus, moi le dernier, en 1834 diviser son vaste héritage: Bardstown, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Détroit & Vincennes—" Dominus dabit benignitatem! In spem contra apem! Auspice Maria! "

IV.—La population actuelle est d'anciens français pas un 40 à 50e. d'Allemands et de Suisses, peut être un 12e.—(50,000)—d'Irlandais, peut être 1/3 (200,000)—le reste & le principal d'Américains venus de tous les états mais surtout de l'Est, Virginie, Pensylvanie & plus Est, New York, Nouve. Angleterre—aussi beaucoup du Kentucky & de l'Ohio, les Etats voisins. La langue Anglaise est parlée généralement.

A. M. D. G.

La surface des Etats Unis est d'environ 1,600,000 milles carrés. Celle de l'Europe de 2,800 à 3,000,000—mais la Suède, la Norvège, la Laponie & la partie Nord de la Russie donnent plus de 1,000,000m.c. de terres inhabitables—tandis que presque toute la surface des Etats Unis est de terre & climat favorables à la population. Elle peut donc après un siècle s'y trouver ègale à celle de l'Europe qui est d'environ 223 à 227,000,000 d'âmes. Quand ce ne seroit que 150 à 200,000,000, quelle Amérique, quelle perspective! Quel intérêt immense d'y activer et favoriser le dévelloppement de l'église; le Seigneur paroissant accorder de premières bénédictions si encourageantes!—Quel avenir!—Quel appel à notre zèle—

La situation des Etats-Unis entre l'Atlantique & la mer Pacifique est fort remarquable—lorsque les américains auront atteint le rivage de la Pacifique, nos missions seront en face de celle de l'Orient, la Chine de St. François Xavier—déjà le Mississippi, à moitié chemin est passé des Etats, & deux évêchés (St. Louis & la Nouvelle Orléans) portés au delà—

Observez que le St. Père a donné, en 1835, l'évêque à Calcutta; 1 à la Nouvelle Hollande; 2 aux isles de l'Océanie sur la route de l'Asie—& ceux ci ont pris leur centre de dépôt & correspondance sur notre rivage de la Pacifique à Valparaiso—comme Macao l'étoit pour la Chine quand on s'y rendoit par le Cap de bonne Espérance—On y ira des ports des *Etats Unis sur la Pacifique avant peut-être un siècle*—Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus!

Pour donné une idée de l'étendue déjà occupée, la poste court sur une ligne assez droite du Nord-Est au Sud-Est, d'Eastport à Washington 720 milles; & de Washington à la Nouvelle Orléans 1264; de là à la rivière Sabine, frontière du Texas 190 milles—total de la ligne 2174 milles environ 725 lieues de France—

Lorsque l'émeute brulait le couvent des [Urs] * ulines à Boston, celles de la Nouvelle Orléans [les recevoient] * en paix dans le leur à 1,600 milles de là.

La population des Etats Unis est principalemen[t] * caractérisée par régions selon l'origine de son émigration, anglaise à l'Est & les côtes Atlantiques avec mélange d'Irelande surtout depuis New York, & de noirs & esclaves depuis la Delaware & le Maryland—ou plus irelandaise et allemande au centre, la Pennsilvanie, Ohio, etc—& française à la Louisiane. Toutes les remarques trop générales comme celles d[es] * lettres de l'invariable sont très inéxactes en politiq[ue],* religion et mœurs, comme en histoire naturelle.

Missions des Etats Unis — A. M. D. G.
Notes de l'Evêq[e]. de Vincennes (Mg[r]. Bruté) — Auspice Mar[ia]
Roma 10 Mars 1836

L'œuvre des Missions Etrangères est la continuation de l'œuvre de Jésus-Christ pour transférer les Nations de leurs ténèbres à son admirable Lumière—Elle s'accomplit d'âge en âge selon les mesures & les ouvertures de la Providence—depuis un demi siècle, & surtout depuis 25 ans c'est le tour de ces colonies anglaises devenues les Etats Unis dans l'Amérique du Nord, où contre toute espérance, étant d'abord toutes protestantes on voit une branche étendue & vigoureuse de la Sainte Eglise s'établir & promettre un si grand avenir, pourvu que l'on seconde à tems & avec zèle ses premiers progrès.

Les Missions de l'Orient si chères à la foi sont comme stationnaires—Elles se soutiennent & s'avancent peu à peu à force de prières & de souffrances vers l'époque marquée pour leur plein développement—Celles des Etats Unis d'une création plus récente sont plus en mouvement & progrès, ou même comme en crise décisive, les ministres des sectes s'occupent fortement à empêcher leurs marches. Il s'agit de les seconder & de procurer un secours de plus en plus abondant aux natifs, aux émigrants, aux sauvages, aux protestans même; ces quatre classes d'âmes toutes chères au Seigneur. Charitas [*sic*] Christi urget.

Les Catholiques, moins (peut être pas 30,000 dans le Maryl[d]. & la Pennsylvanie presque les uniques points où il y en eut.) de 100,000 (même avec

* The ma uscript is illegible here.

la Louisiane) lors de la révolution Américaine peuvent s'estimer déjà à *un million*, mais bien loin d'être tous administrés & pourvus d'églises & de prêtres à leur portée.

Le Clergé, d'abord à peine 12 à 15, lorsque Mg^r^. Carroll leur fut donné pour premier évêque approche maintenant de 400 sous un Archevêque & douze Evêques. Les institutions & maisons religieuses ou d'éducation commencent à se trouver nombreuses.—Les collèges & les écoles & quelques séminaires & noviciats seront peu à peu l'occasion d'un changement désirable dans les dispositions jusqu'ici si peu favorables à l'état Ecclésiastique —il faut à tout prix les multiplier & les soutenir. Ceux qui existent & commencent à se développer & prospérer n'eussent point existé si on n'en eut point comme fait les avances " in Spem contra spem.["] Leur vue maintenant doit exercer son influence & quoique pour ce point si capital des vocations ecclésiastiques il y ait bien en effet à désirer, il y a pourtant déjà un gain réel—le Maryland, le Kentucky, Boston ont trouvé un bon nombre de vocations d'américains—en somme un 5^e^. environ du clergé en est composé—la proportion de ses différentes nations ou origine seroit à peu près ainsi; nous pouvons en croire la statistique utile, telle que l'almanack Ecclésiastique de 1835 l'offriroit en suppléant quelques additions.

En tout—360 prêtres

dont	118	Irelandais & quelques Anglais (Philadelph^e^., New York & Charleston en grande majorité Irelandaise)
Il y en a d'avantage	25	Belges et des bords du bas Rhin—
	85	Français—et alsaciens parlant Allemand
	15	allemands & suisses
	13	Italiens, 1 piemontais (La Nouv. Orléans & St. Louis la plupart)
	2	russes & poles
	5	Espagnols ou portugais
	83	Natifs (à Baltimore-Kentucky-Boston)
	346	

(plus un nombre incertain, mais qui augmenteroit peu la proportion des Natifs)—l'esprit d'industrie & d'activité de toute entreprise dans les familles leur besoin de leurs garçons, l'exemple des frères & parents pour ceux ci le peu d'attrait & de première confiance aux étrangers qui presque seuls tiennent les séminaires & a que de causes, pour empêcher d'entreprendre leur éducation ou pour qu'ils se découragent de la longue durée & de ses perspectives précaires lorsqu-elle doit être terminée.

Quant à la proportion des diocèses

1. Baltimore a	68 prêtres	*Observation*
2. Philadelphie	45 "	Cette liste est celle de l'almanak de 1835
3. New York	35 "	—mais j'y trouve plus de 15 omissions
4. Boston	26 "	et il y en a d'autres.
5. Detroit	18 "	(au reste la comparaison suivante est
6. Cincinnati	20 "	consolante—
7. Vincennes	2 "	il n'y avoit pas 25 prêtres en 1790
8. Bardstown	33 "	. . . . . pas 40 " en 1810
9. St. Louis	39 "	. . . . . pas 80 " en 1815
10. New Orleans	27 "	. . . . . 360 " en 1835
11. Mobile	11 "	MM. [*sic*] Dubourg, M. Dubois & les
12. Charleston	17 "	Sulpicians [*sic*] les Jésuites & les Laz-
13. Richmond (avec Baltimore, dont 6)	"	aristes ont le plus ajouté au nombre— Mgr. Flaget aussi au Kentucky
		[& Mg^{r}.] * England, etc.)
341		

plus près de la vérité 360

Hiérarchie

1. Baltimore archevêché	2. Boston évêché	6. Charleston	10. Detroit
	3. New York	7. Mobile	11. Cincinnati
	4. Philadelphie	8. New Orleans	12. Bardstown
	5. Richmond (vacant)	9. St. Louis	13. Vincennes

Sociétés Religieuses

I. Hommes:

1. Jésuites	1. Maryland & Pennsylvanie	1. provincial— résidences & Missions	2 Collèges Georgetown Frederick	1 Noviciat Frederick
	2. Kentucky.	Français—	1 Collège	
	3. Missouri.	Belges—	1 Collège	1 Florissant
2. Dominicains	1. Kentucky 2. Ohio	Missions résidence et Missions	1 Collège	1 St. Rose
3. Lazaristes	1. Missouri	un séminaire &	1 Collège	1 St. Marie
4. Liguoristes	1. Michigan	Missions aux sauvages		
5. Picpus	1. au Maine	2 missions		

6. Augustins 1. résidence et belle maison à Philadelphie

7. Autres en individus épars Franciscains . . . .

8. Sulpicians [*sic*] 1. Baltimore

* The manuscript is torn here.

II. Femmes:

1. Carmélites	1 maison à Baltimore
2. Visitation	3. Baltimore, St. Louis, Mobile
3. Ursulines	3 Boston—Nouvelle Orléans—Charleston
4. Dominicaines	1 Cincinnati—2 Bardstown (tiers ordre)
5. Clarisses	2 Philadelphie—Détroit
6. Sacré-Cœur	5 Nouvelle Orléans—St. Louis
7. La Mercy	1 Charleston, institut de Mgr. England
8. La Retraite	1 Charleston
9. Les Loretines	8 Bardstown, St. Louis-institut de M. Nerincks [*sic*]
10. St. Joseph de Lyon	1 St. Louis
11. Oblates	1 Baltimore, institut de M. Joubert. Mulatresses
12. Filles de la Charité	10 Baltimore, 1 Boston, 8 New York, Philadelphie 7, 1 du Maryland, 1 Richmond, 1 Cincinnati, 2 St. Louis, 2 New Orleans, 2 du Kentucky, 7 Bardstown, 1 Vincennes—ces 40 établissemens sont 34 écoles ou maisons d'orphelins, 4 hôpitaux, 2 noviciats

Il ya de ces sociétés religieuses d'hommes dans 8 des diocèses—de femmes dans tous—Baltimore a 2 d'hommes & 4 de femmes. En 16 ou 17 établissemens—Vincennes 1 seul de 4 sœurs.

Le progrès de plusieurs des sociétés religieuses a été bien encourag[eant] par ex. les Jésuites depuis 15 ans ont ajouté 3 collèges, un noviciat & le Kentucky, & le Missouri a [*sic*] leur sphère d'action—de 15 peut être en 1810 ils sont plus de 50 prêtres, outre les scholastiques.—

Les Visitandines de leur origine & à peine 7 à 8 en 1810, ont 3 maisons & plus de 80 ou 90 sœurs.—

Les Loretines ont commencé depuis 1812—le Sacré-Cœur depuis 18[18.]

Pour les Filles de la Charité' en 1809 elles furent commencées par une bonne veuve protestante convertie, sans pouvoir en obtenir une seule de France pour modèle, mais seulement les livres & règles de St. Vincent de Paul & en violà plus de 300 à 350 en 25 ans & une 40^{aine} d'établissemens.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire observer combien la vue des institutions religieuses de femmes, celle des sœurs particulièrement edif[ie]—leurs

écoles, les hôpitaux, le choléra, leur commerce habituel avec tant de familles etc.—mais on les cite si souvent qu'on s'expose à oublier le même genre d'influence, quoique chacune à leur manière, des autres instituts—les Visitandines, le Sacré-Cœur.

C'est surtout à la génération naissante qu'elles rendent un service immense—à New York seul, la plus grand ville il est vrai & où Mgr. Dubois à [*sic*] encor à déplorer le manque de ressources suffisantes pour la jeunesse d'une population Catholique estimée dans cette ville, 50,000 sur les 250,000, le rapport sur les écoles en 1834 a donné pour les écoles Catholiques, selon l'annuaire de Williams (Page 273)

...à St. Patrick	120 garçons	125 filles	
St. Pierre	330 ——	300	
Ste Marie	191 ——	187	
l'Eglise du Christ	274 ——	321	
	915	936	Total 1851
ajouter aux orphelins de St. Patrick			176
—— d° —— d° —— de St. Joseph			102
—— l'Ecole de Brooklin			105
			2234

Avec les omissions d'autres écoles, dont je me rappelle quelques un[es] sans savoir ce qu'elles ont d'enfants ce seroit bien 3,000 enfans à New York sous les maitres Catholiques—un progrès bien grand depu[is] 1786 qu'il fut permis pour la première fois à quelques centaines de Catholiques de se bâtir une petite chapelle—mais nous verrons aussi que bien des enfans catholiques sont encor absorbés par les manufactures & les écoles protestantes.

Census Des Catholiques Aux Etats. Unis Plus D'un Million

Il est impossible de l'avoir éxact—

Les Evêques ni les missionaires n'ont point pris jusqu'ici, ni pu pren[dre] de mesure qui put procurer un résultat autentique—ni même qui fut approximatif à des erreurs près de peu d'importance.

On n'a fait que des conjectures plus ou moins incertaines & dont les extrêmes ont dépendu de la manière d'y procéder.

Je me rappelle qu'au Concile de 1829 on convint comme unanime[ment] qu'il y avoit au moins 500,000 Catholiques—on s'arrèta à ce chiff[re] pour être sûr de ne pas éxagérer—cependant dès lors les papiers Cathol[iques] & particulièrement le Miscellany de Charleston citoit [*sic*] fréquemment notre *Million*—En 1832 les annales de l'association Léopoldine de Vien[ne] citées dans l'état inseré dans l'extrait en Italien qu'on vient d'en publi[er]

(Della chiesa Catholica Negli Stati Uniti d'Amer[a]. Verona 1835 in 8°. 132 p. on nous donne 540,000 Catholiq[e]—Les annales de Lyon N°. 44 (Janvier 1836) donnent 600,000—ce dernier nombre ne seroit pas même le progrès le plus direct des 500,000 de 1829.—

Je suis (avec plusieurs autres qui me semblent avoir examiné plus en détail) convaincu que les Catholiques sont plutôt au dessus, qu'au dèss[o]us du chiffre 1,000,000—& cela même en prennant pour le base le census de 1830—12,863,527—à plus forte raison les 14 à 15,000,000 de 1836.

Il y a des diminutions manifestes dans l'état de Vérone " Tavola etc.—["] par exemple le diocèse de Boston & les 6 états de la Nouvelle Anglet[erre] qui le composent sont portés seulement 15,000 Catholiques—& cependant une lettre de Mg[r]. Fenwick de Boston insérée au N°. 43 des annales d[e] Lyon, page 183, dit qu'il y en a 22,000 dans sa seule ville de Boston, puis page 183, s'exprime ainsi: ..." J'ai dit plus haut qu'il y a maintenant (1835) à Boston *Vingt-deux* mille Catholiq[s]—si dans le strict dénombrement, il y avoit quelque différence, elle seroit *en notre faveur*. Le nombre des *baptêmes* de l'année dernière, à la *Cathédrale* est de *720;* celui des mariages de *174;* des *enterremens* de *437;* le total des morts dans toute la ville pendant la même année se porte à 1554. " Ces rapports indiquent clairement qu'on n'exagère point, & en même tems ils font voir avec quelle étonnante rapidité ils ont augmenté pendant les 5 dernières années, puisque auparavant il n'y avoit pas la moitié de ce nombre "—(en 1810 Mgr. Cheverus n'en comptoit que de 2 à 3,000 au plus.—il est vrai que Boston a depuis plus que doublé sa population—& que les travaux publics attirent beaucoup d'émigrans.)

On peut representer ainsi l'état des diocèses en 1835-

1. Baltimore	10,929	milles carrés	478,000	âmes	100,000	Catholiques	65	prêtres
2. Richmond	64,000	m. c.	1,211,000	a	compris avec Baltim[r].		5	d°.
3. Boston	76,427	m. c.	1,955,000	a	50,000	d°.	26	"
4. New York	48,500	m. c.	2,160,000	a	180,000	d°.	36	"
5. Philadelphie	51,100	m. c.	1,754,000	a	160,000	d°.	45	"
6. Bardstown	83,785	m. c.	1,177,000	a	50,000	d°.	40	"
7. Cincinnati	39,000	m. c.	938,000		100,000	d°.	21	"
8. Détroit	177,750	m. c.	100,000	a	25,000	d°.	18	"
9. St. Louis	221,000	m. c.	280,000	a	60,000	d°.	42	"
10. Vincennes	52,000	m. c.	600,000	a	50,000	d°.	5	"
11. Nouv. Orléans	93,000	m. c.	351,000	âmes	150,000	Cathol[e].	27	"
12. Mobile	117,625	m. c.	344,250	a	50,000	d°.	11	"
13. Charleston	132,000	m. c.	1,835,000	a	35,000	a [*sic*]	19	"
	1,167,816	milles carrés	12,483,250	âmes	1,010,000	Catholiq[s].	360	prêtres & évêques
	la partie au delà des Etats-Unis comprise.		Erreur en moins de 400,000					

Observation Générale:

Les 2 premières (l'area & la population) colonnes sont à quel[que] légère erreur près exactes & officielles. La 3e. est conjecture d'après les données les plus exactes pour quelques parties des diocèses, les plus probables pour d'autres, vagues pour plusieurs, en évitant de conjecturer au plus haut chiffre. La 4e. exacte à très peu près.

Observer 1°. que le calcul des catholiques comprend ceux qui n'ont point de prêtres, près de la moitié—surtout en y comprennant [*sic*] ceux visités très rarement & seulement par occa[sion]

2°. que ce nombre s'accroit tous les ans par l'émigration d'Irelande les 3/4 Catholiqu[es] & plus, d'Allemagne, près ou plus de la moitié catholiques, de la Belgique, France, Italie peu considérable ainsi que l'Espagnole [*sic*] —nous tacherons d'en rendre compte—on a di[t] qu'il y avoit eu de 60,000 à 100,000 émigrans cette année 1835—ce 2e. chiffre est exagéré, mais il est constant que ces 3 ou 4 dernières années l'émigration a été considéra[ble] & a pu passer 60,000.

3°. Elle s'accroit par la proportion ordinaire des naissances—on peut remarquer combien cela doit être considérable par le résultat des 1rs. census faits aux Et[ats] Unis selon la constitution qui ordonne de la renouveller tous les dix ans.

1. Census 1790	3,929,827 habitants	accroisement des 10 [ans]	
2. d°. 1800	5,305,925 "	depuis 1790—1,386,09[8]	
3. d°. 1810	7,239,514 "	d°. 1800—1,933,8[39]	
4. d°. 1820	9,638,131 "	d°. 1810—2,399,6[17]	
5. d°. 1830	12,866,020 "	d°. 1820—3,214,6[29]	

plus de *trois* millions de plus en 10 ans c'est à dire sur *neuf* de 1820 *un tiers* les 12 de 1830 seroient 16, en 1840 & le l de catholiques, plus 1,300,000 mais les catholiques à chaque census ont plus augmenté que les au[tres.]

4°. Elle s'accroit par les conversions

5°. Elle perd en apostasie très peu

6°. Elle perd plus par la jeunesse qui faute d'instruction se fond dans le protestantisme qui l'environne.

7°. Cependant en résultat le *Catholicisme* a gagné et gagne *beaucoup* sur le *protestantisme*.

100,000 en 1790 étoient comme un à 39—1/39e.

[1],000,000 en 1835—d°—un à 13—1/13

Protestantisme—1°. son Etat—2°. Conversions—3°. Apostasie.

1. Son Etat—Il y a aux Etats Unis de toutes les sectes protestantes, aucunnes [*sic*] dans aucun Etat n'a de caractère légal de préférence ou exclusions.

Les sectes les plus nombreuses sont les Méthodistes, les Baptistes, et les Presbytériens—Elles sont estimées chacune environ 2,000,000—de ces trois les premiers sont ceux qui gagnent le plus de proselytes, & les 2ds. à peu près la même chose se confondant dans le vague de la bible, malgré leurs opinions distinctes—Les Presbytériens sont moins populaires dans l'intérieur du pays, mais sont puissants dans les grandes villes, riches & leur clergé plus lettrés, ayant plusieurs collèges de réputation, pas les premiers. Ces Presbytériens sont les plus actifs agens & meneurs des sociétés bibliques, des pamphlets à circuler, des missions des écoles à monter &—ce sont les ennemis les plus acharnés & les plus dangereux de l'église—les autres sont plus directement occupé de leur propre progrès; les Presbytériens le sont de leur opposition de haine contre l'église—ils sont d'ailleurs la secte la plus orgueilleuse & odieuse même & suspecte aux autres comme affectant la domination & soupçonnés même de désirer se rendre l'église nationale & celle des conseils, et législatures de toute espèce—au reste cette 3e. secte semble par ses excès perdre plutôt de son ancienne popularité & n'être pas autant en progrès que les deux autres.

Les autres sectes nombreuses, mais toutes moins que les Catholiques, pris dans l'ensemble des Etats Unis sont

Les Episcopaliens,
Les Luthériens,
Les Quakers,
Les Universalistes.

Les premiers, fort dans quelques parties de l'Est, ne gagnent point dans l'ou[est] où les 3 autres se répandent plus facilement—ils affectent toutes fois d'être partout—des évêques & des diocèses, mais d'une valeur nominale—ils n'ont pas de nombre propre, excepté, comme il est dans l'Est, particulièrement New York & Philadelphie—dans l'ouest il leur faut prêcher à des Presbytériens ou tels autres qui manquent de ministres, sans que ces auditeurs soient Episcopaliens.

Les Luthériens sont stationaires ou plutôt perdent comme tels—les Quakers aussi. Longtems un peuple tout à part, leur dernière génération perd plus de ses formes propres & s'assimile avec les autres sectes.

Les sectes moins nombreuses sont

Les Unitariens	les Swedemborgiens ou	Les Covenantes
Les Chrétiens	nouvelle Jérusalem	Les Memonites [*sic*]
Les Moraves	les Shakers	Les Universalistes &
	les Mormonites	

Décrire ces sectes seroit inutiles; quelques unes comme les frères Moraves, les Memonites [*sic*], les Swedemborgiens ont leurs spécialité bien connue—quant aux Unitariens, Universalistes & Chrétiens, quoique aussi ayant des

ministres & des Eglises propres, ils représentent plutôt des opinions qui ont beaucoup plus de sectateurs dans le sein même des autres sectes que sous leur titre exprés—par exemple *les Unitariens*, ceux qui rejettent la Trinité & la Divinité de Jésus-Christ sont extrêmement nombreux parmi les sectes de toute espèce, quoique ne formant qu'un corps à part très faible excepté à Boston où l'étendard du Socinianisme ou Unitarianisme fut arboré en 1810 avec des ministres des journaux exprès & a.—

Les *Universalistes*, ceux qui croient au salut final de tous, même des démons, & nient, l'éternité des peines. [*sic*] de l'enfer [,] ne sont pas moins nombreux de cette manière de diffusion générale, comme opinion parmi toutes les autres sectes.

Les *Chrétiens*, ceux qui nient tout ministére spécial, toute forme de secte, & veulent strictement s'en tenir à la bible, sont comme opinion pratique la secte la plus nombreuse, mais assez peu comme corps avouant se nom seul pour le leur, & écoutant indifférement tout précheur. Les autres ont leur nom d'origines, leur forme de ministère &a., Presbytériens, Méthodistes, &a., mais ne sont eux mêmes que ces *Chrétiens* pour qui la bible est tout, ou plutôt leur opinion.

Chaque ville considérable contient des Eglises et ministres qui représentent un certain nombre de ces sectes—les plus grandes en ont de presque toutes par ex. *New York*, ville de 250,000 âmes, en 1835 avoit 141 Eglises des

Presbytériens Universalistes Quakers Catholiques Episcopaliens

Le nombre des Eglises ne représente point celui des sectateurs, mais seulem[ent] le zèle des ministres & la richesse de leurs amis pour en éxiger —aussi les Catho[liques] aussi nombreux ou plus que chaque secte séparée à New York excepté peut-être les Presbytériens n'ont que 6 Eglises pour leur population qu'on peut estime[r] sans exagération à 50,000, tandis que les Presbytériens en ont 35 ce qui est s[ix] fois plus.—

L'état du protestantisme ne seroit pas apprécié justement en s'en tenant à ces apparences d'Eglises nombreuses & bien bâties—sans presqu'aucunne [*sic*] élégance cependant, ni formes régulières, & à celle des listes de ministres de chaque secte—il faut pénétrer plus avant & étudier l'opinion de ces sectaires de tout nom & toute origine—On trouve alors, que le rationalisme le plus illimité règne généralement parmi les classes élevées, les personne de quelque éducation & la plus grande partie du peuple des villes & des bourgades—excepté une certaine portion plus attachée à la personne des ministres ou aux livres & traditions de leurs familles, il n'y a presque plus d'articles de religion ou de Catéchisme & symbole spécial auquel on tienne—chaque secte se divise même ouvertement en haute & basse Eglise —la première composée des principaux ministres retient ses points de secte & s'appelle Orthodox, la 2°. toujours la plus nombreuse n'en fait aucun cas, la différence se prononce dans toutes les assemblées de sectes, celles

surtout des Presbytériens—les Méthodistes cependant ont aussi fait leurs schismes & jusqu'aux Quakers, réputés si paisibles & si contemplatifs on en est venu même aux séparations extérieures & érections de bâtimens séparés —mais cela n'est pas le cas le plus fréquent, il y a plus d'indifférence d'opinion & de véritable abandon de toute foi spéciale dans la plupart des esprits & on reste sous le même toit & usant du même ministre & des mêmes exercices avec des opinions tout à fait contraires & cela en mille et mille sens—il n'y a que contre l'Eglise Catholique qu'on demeure unanime —& encor plutôt unanimes à en demeurer éloignés qu'à la condamner, car il peut paraître surprennant [*sic*] & cependant c'est le cas d'une multitude de protestans qu'on la croie au moins une aussi bonne société Chrétienne que les autres sans pour cela songer aucunnement [*sic*] à s'y ren[dre.]

L'indifférence & le rationalisme prévalent & de 1810 à 1835 j'ai trouvé de plus en plus la différence de l'état actuel du protestantisme à ce qu'il étoit se prononçant [*sic*]—

En 1810, à mon arrivée si on demandoit à un protestant de qu[elle] Secte il étoit—il répondoit directement je suis Episcopalien—Presbytérien —Luthérien. Maintenant les réponses sont ou indirectes: mes parents *étoient* &a.—ou bien: je vais au temple Episcopalien, etc. ou même: je vais ordinairement à votre Eglise—ou bien on répond directement: je n'ai pas fait de choix—ou je ne suis d'aucunne [*sic*] secte; ou je lis seulement ma bible etc.—on trouve le plus généralement qu'on n'a plus de foi spéciale à aucunne [*sic*] secte protestante particulière.—

Pour les pratiques c'est encor plus décisifs. Il est déplorable de voir que le baptême a cessé généralement d'être pratiqué. Il y avoit longtems qu'on pratiquoit très peu la communion ou Cèn pour laquelle leurs controversistes disputèrent tant autrefois, comme si l'Eglise avoit privé les fidèles de la moitié (la coupe). Mais le baptême se pratiquoit encor généralement il y 30 à 40 ans, les Baptistes le vouloient même par immersion, maintenant surtout à mesure qu'elle se porte vers l'ouest; la population s'en passe généralement; satisfaite avec la bible dont la lecture est même depuis quelque tems plus négligée—car c'est une remarque étrange que plus les sociétés bibliques ont répandu la bible plus on a commencé à la mépriser—quant à cette abolition du baptême elle fait cesser cette consolation de la remarque de St. Augustin que l'Eglise enfantoit encor par les sectes comme par les servantes—la génération qui s'élève est presque toute infidèle—cela doit au reste de plus en plus exciter le zèle des missionaires pour aller suppléer à ce défaut de foi & baptiser ou procu[rer] qu'on baptise plusieurs de ceux qui mourroient sans même ce premier pas vers la conversion, le désir du baptême—au moins pour baptiser ce qu'on peut d'enfants (bien entendre tout mal dit).

Voilà quelques remarques générales sur le protestantisme—il y auroit trop à ajouter pour ces simples notes par ex. sur la subdivision des sectes

—Les Presbytériens—en 4 ou 5 nuances,—les Méthodistes autant,—les Baptistes plusieurs:—il suffit de citer leur chapitre dans les ouvrages récents sur les sectes, il y a les Mennonites, les Calvinistick baptistes, les General Baptists, les Campbelites Baptistes qui dans une èdition récente du Nouv. Testament, à leur usage ont rejeté tout usage du mot Baptist & mettent immersion, immerger à la place " Allez & immergez les nations &a " puis les Tunkers qui portent la barbe comme nos capucins, les Sabbatariens, peu nombreux qui croient que le Sabbath ou samedi est encor le jour de repos et que c'est Constantin & l'Eglise Romaine qui lui ont substitué le dimanche; les Emancipators [*sic*] qui font de l'abolition de l'esclavage un point—de leur foi &a.—

L'observation du dimanche s'est elle même relâchée un peu quoiqu'elle demeure généralement plus nationale qu'en Europe—il en est ainsi par suite de cette licence de toute opinion qui ne voit plus dans le dimanche qu'un jour de convention pour régler le repos du travail dans la société.

Il est au reste un très grand nombre de protestans qui sans se rendre compte de tant d'inconséquence croient de bonne foi au Christianisme en générale comme à une religion divine—c'est parmi ceux là que nos instructions ou nos livres font leur effet pour les rappeller à une règle de foi & par conséquent à son unité & à l'Eglise où elle peut uniquement exister & éviter un entier nauffrage [*sic*].

CONVERSIONS DES PROTESTANS—

Il faut les considerer

1. par instruction directe
2. par éducation parmi les catholiques
3. par les mariages mixtes
4. par séjour dans les hôpitaux ou autrement à la mort
5 .par l'exemple de [*sic*] ministres

puis examiner les obstacles

1. de préjugé & ignorance
2. de respect humain & craintes
3. de scandales

J'observe d'abord en Somme qu'il y a eu une très forte proportion de protestans convertis dans nos Etats Unis depuis la révolution Américaine. Dès 1810 lorsque j'y arrivois Mg^r^. Carroll, seul premier Evêque, me le fit remarquer avec consolation; il n'y avoit alors que 30 à 40 prêtres—le nombre étant maintenant de plus de 360 tous les ans beaucoup de protestans se réunissent à l'Eglise. 1°. par instruction directe—soit en lisant les bons ouvrages catholiques; soit en conversant avec de simples laics instruits qui les conduisent ensuite aux prêtres; soit en suivant longtems le cours des instructions Catholiques dans nos Eglises qu'ils fréquentent toujours en

grand nombre. Tous les ans chaque pasteur reçoit ainsi les convertis—de toute classe & partout il y en a ainsi des classes élevées elles mêmes. Un gouverneur de Maryland M. Lee, un sénateur plus récement [*sic*], des avocats, des juges, des médicins, j'ai compté jusqu'à 12 de ceux-ci en divers états etc.

2. Le mariage mixte en observant les règles de notre discipline est un grand moyen d'éteindre des ligues protestantes; la partie acatholique étant toujours obligée de promettre que tous les enfans seront élevés catholiques —jamais on ne permet la division—c'est d'ailleurs presque toujours à l'Eglise que la partie protestante se pique d'assister avec l'autre, & bientôt de visiter amicalement le pasteur de la partie Catholique devant lequel a du se faire le mariage.—

3. Nos écoles, soit des garçons, soit des filles reçoivent toutes un grand nombre d'élèves protestans—Ils suivent tous les exercices religieux de l'école & entendent sans cesse les mêmes instructions. Dès lors leurs préjugé cèdent généralement à ces nouvelles lumières. Plusieurs désirent devenir Catholiques et en obtiennent le consentement de leurs parents; s'il est plus généralement refusé, ils peuvent suivre leur désir lorsqu'ils retournent dans leur famille, & il en arrive ainsi, particulièrement pour les jeunes personnes, plus fidèles à retenir lorsqu'elles retournent dans le[monde] les impressions toutes favorables à la religion qu'elles ont reçues & les désirs qu'elles formoient d'être Catholiques. On en voit en effet plusieurs devenir Catholiques; soit qu'elles en obtiennent l'agrément de leurs parens [*sic*] ou, ce que j'ai vu aussi plusieurs fois, elles ayent plutôt pour cela à souffrir d'eux différentes sortes de mauvais traitement. Car avec leurs professions générales de Tolérance il y a fréquement [*sic*] à souffrir de différentes manières pour se rendre Catholiques—Les hommes surtout dans un pays tout d'élections, d'affaires, de popularité, où tant de sortes d'influences indirectes viennent compliquer la simple impression que toute étude de la controverse Catholique donne d'abord de son évidence.

Toutefois si moins des élèves de nos écoles; surtout des garçons, qu'il ne devroit arriver, se convertissent jusqu'à professer & pratiquer entièrement la foi dont on peut dire que la plupart reconnaissant l'excellence avant de quitter leur maîtres & maîtresses catholiques, outre mille bons effets de l'attachement que tous & je dirois bien les garçons autant que les jeunes personnes conservent le plus persévérament [*sic*] pour nous, il arrive de plus que très bien instruits de notre sainte religion & choqués souvent des absurdités calomniés & mauvaises raisons de toute espèce qu'ils entendent dans le monde protestant, ils les contredisent, même par l'amour propre naturel de leur triomphe d'argument ou d'explication & se rendent ainsi autant d'apologistes de la foi, de l'Eglise & ses pratiques, du clergé au sein duquel ils ont vécu.—La preuve frappante qu'il en est ainsi se trouve dans le mécontentement des ministres à ce sujet & le parti extrême qu'a pris

dernièrement (juin 1835) l'assemblée générale des ministres presbytériens—ils ont passé deux décrets le premier pour assurer le second—1. que l'Eglise de Rome est trop enfoncée dans son Idolâtrie & ses superstitions pour qu'on puisse la reconnoître pour une Eglise Chrétienne,—2. que les protestans ne peuvent en conscience confier leurs enfans aux maisons d'education Catholiques—cet excès, au reste, n'a fait que leur nuire dans l'esprit public & en même tems, comme il arrive, faire parler d'avantage de nos écoles qui ont eu plus d'élèves que les années précédentes, ainsi que j'ai pu le vérifier pour plusieurs.

4. J'ai parlé des hôpitaux—c'est un fait consolant que dans ceux tenus par nos Sœurs de la Charité (4 considérables) du plus grand nombre de protestans qui s'y trouvent, plus de la moitié se convertissent quand il y a danger, ces bonnes filles qui par ce saint motif de plus en ont tant de soin, les y préparent à parler aux ecclésiastiques qui visitent ces hôpitaux.

Même dans les hôpitaux. tenus par les protestans, nos prêtres y allant pour les catholiques & édifiant les gardiens ont la facilité de regagner plusieurs des autres malades—au tems des épidémies les effets ont été en on été [*sic*] considérable.

Enfin il se fait un bon nombre de conversions des malades ou mourans par la visite d'amitié, charité & zèle d'abord des voisins catholiques, puis des ecclésisatique—J'en ai eu beaucoup de cas—& il faut observer que ces conversions ont un effet secondaire souvent bien plus étendu c'est d'abord que si ces malades ont des enfants ils exigent qu'ils soient après eux élevés catholiques & prennent avec les prêtres et leurs amis catholiques ce qu'ils peuvent de mesures. Ajoutez l'exemple pour leurs propres amis protestans rendu plus vif par ces convictions & consolations des derniers & décisifs moments dont il sont souvent témoins & beaucoup alors si frappés—une foule d'exemples se presentent à ma mémoire à mesure que j'écris.

5. Ajoutez un certain nombre de conversions de ministres dont la sincérité se prouvoit & par leurs écrits pour l'expliquer & par les suites évidentes de perte considérable pour eux—tandisque s'il y a eu quelques apostasies de mauvais prêtres les motifs d'intérêt ou d'autres passions les plus viles ont été trop évidents [*sic*] pour nos Catholiques qui connaissoient ces hommes ordinairement déjà sous les censures ecclésiastiques, pour avoir pour eux aucun effet semblable de conviction que c'étoit l'effet de l'ascendant de la cause qu'ils embrassoient.

Je le répète pour résultat général, la proportion des Catholiques que nous devons ainsi au produit des conversions est très considérable quand on a longtems été aux missions & qu'on se rend un compte plus exact de l'origine de son troupeau catholique, ce qui ne sembloit avoir été qu'un effet insensible devient très remarquable—ayant été longtems au milieu d'une contrée où nous avions plusieurs paroisses catholiques vraiment pieuses. J'ai dit quelquefois à mes amis: voyez il y a presque un tiers de

ces familles si bonnes d'origines protestantes, & on ne me contredisoit point —j'en venois aux traits & aux noms particuliers & justifiois ce que j'avois dit.

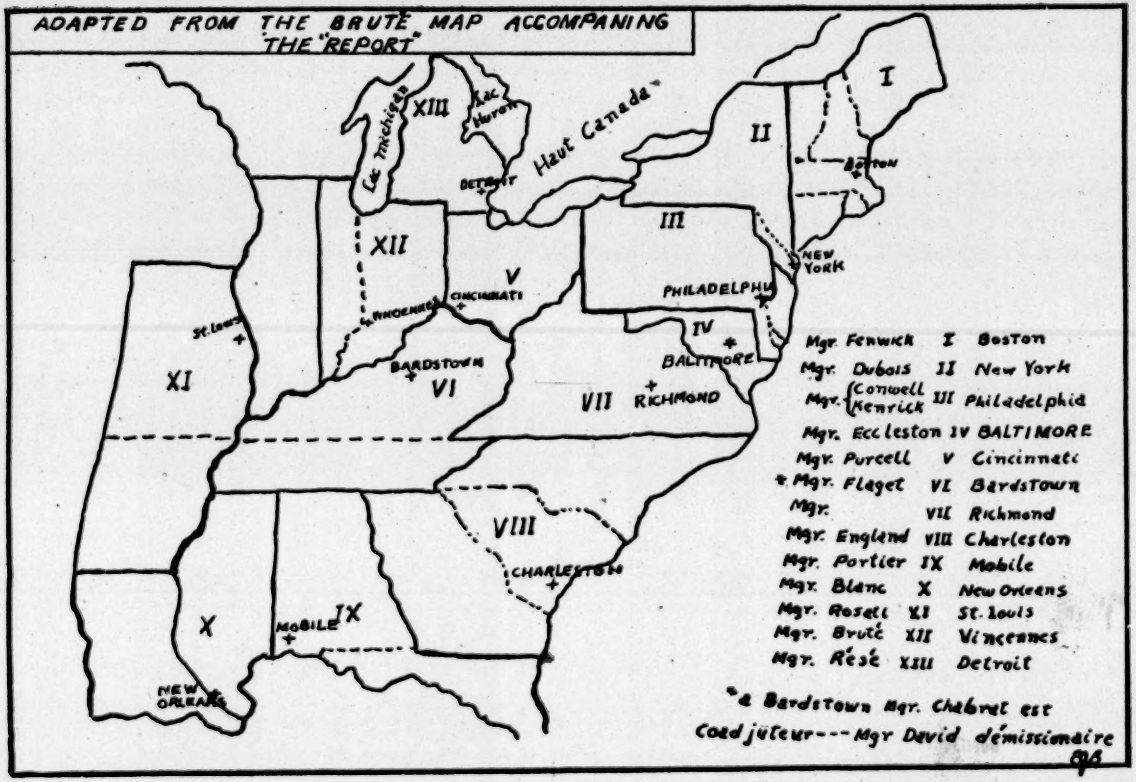
[Gou]vernement—Loix [*sic*]

Les constitutions des Etats assurent toute liberté— Celle des Etats Unis comme fédération maintient tant d'égalité qu'u[n] prêtre ou Evêque peuvent siéger au congrès, être président des Etats U[nis] il y a eu exemple du l^er^ cas—M. Richard en 1824 & 1825. Celles des Etats excluent, *la plupart*, les ministres de toute secte des places, il y a des *exceptions*—aussi dispensent du service des milices, reconnaissent la validité des mariages faits par le clergé *autorisé*—ce qui s'entend en différent degré—il y a des Etats où *tout* ministre reconn[u] tel dans sa secte suffit—dans d'autres il lui faut license de l'Etat, dans ceux à esclaves, il faut permissions écrite des propriétaires. Le divorce est légal partout—& en divers Etats pour des causes très nombreuses, v.g. dans l'Indiana " Absence de deux ans avec intention de se séparer . . . .—" mais liberté religieuse pour les prêtres de refus[er] de marier un divorcé, de l'admettre aux sacremens, d'assister à sa sépulture. Le cas des sépultures est libre, mais la discipline varie selon les diocèses. Les vœux sont libres, mais " *ignorés*," sans effet à la loi. Les instituts religieux se forment & se gouvernent, également " *ignorés* " comme tels. Les actes d'incorporation légale pour posséder, recevoir, administrer, se perpétuer s'accordent sans égard à la religion quelconque des membres sous le seul rapport *d'association* pour un but légitime, examiné & reconnu tel par la légitime, examiné & reconnu tel par la législature de chaque Etat, et les règles d'admission[s] ou exclusions examinées aussi & légitimées par lui quant à l'effet légale.

Il y a quelques Etats. v.g. La Virginie, où je crois qu'une association purem[ent] pour l'objet religieux est toujours extrêmement restreinte—par ex. ne pas posséder plus de deux arpens d'établissement—d'autres ne limitent pas ou très au large.—

Le droit d'établir des Ecoles est également illimité—dans plusieurs Etats on reconnoit les degrés universitaires de Bachelier, Docteur etc, & les Collèges Catholiques obtiennent comme les autres l'autorisation requise au Maryland, le Collège des Sulpiciens à Baltimore, des Jésuites à Georgetown, du M^t^. Ste. Marie de prêtres séculiers ont ce droit d'université—St. Louis aussi au Missouri.

La liberté d'imprimer les doctrines, controverses, mandemens d'Evêques là est générale—elle est laissée aux imprimeurs & éditeurs, dont l'intérêt personnel peut la gèner, n'étant point obligé d'imprimer s'ils craignent de déplaire à leurs pratiques, cas fréquent pour les journaux. On n'est point obligé de contribuer pour d'autre religion que la sienne; mais pour les Ecoles des communes il y a des Etats où par leur organisation on doit contribuer—quelquefois l'école Catholique entre en partage ses contributions si c'est elle qui dans le lieu en accomplit l'objet.


ADAPTED FROM THE BRUTE MAP ACCOMPANING THE "REPORT"
Haut Canada
Lac Michigan
Lac Huron
DETROIT
BOSTON
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
CINCINNATI
PHOENIX
ST. LOUIS
BARDSTOWN
BALTIMORE
RICHMOND
CHARLESTON
MOBILE
NEW ORLEANS
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
Mgr. Fenwick I Boston
Mgr. Dubois II New York
Mgr. {Conwell / Kenrick} III Philadelphia
Mgr. Eccleston IV BALTIMORE
Mgr. Purcell V Cincinnati
* Mgr. Flaget VI Bardstown
Mgr. VII Richmond
Mgr. England VIII Charleston
Mgr. Portier IX Mobile
Mgr. Blanc X New Orleans
Mgr. Rosati XI St. Louis
Mgr. Brute XII Vincennes
Mgr. Rese XIII Detroit
* Bardstown Mgr. Chabrat est Coadjuteur --- Mgr David demissionaire

19

TRANSLATION OF FRENCH REPORT

The diocese of Vincennes [53] is 330 miles long along the meridian line from 37° 30 m. of latitude north to 42° 30 m. latitude north on the west of its part of Illinois. Its width from that northwest corner to the northeast corner is 240 miles. The length and width average 250 miles.

Vincennes is:

by land	700	miles	from	Baltimore
(by water	680	"	"	Washington
add about	900	"	"	New York
200 miles)	1123	"	"	Boston
	1330	"	"	Eastport
	947	"	"	New Orleans

I. The diocese of Vincennes is composed of Indiana and the eastern third of Illinois and contains 50 and some odd thousand square miles (between 50 to 55 or 57 thousand square miles—nothing yet exact). France has an area of 154 to 160 thousand square miles. It, therefore, equals 1/3 of France.

Put together:

Switzerland	of 11,000	square	miles	
Belgium	" 9,700	"	"	(Vincennes has received its name
Holland	" 8,300	"	"	from the Chevalier de Vincennes,
Hanover	" 11,200	"	"	killed by the Indians in 1735)
Saxony	" 4,300	"	"	
Wurtemburg	" 5,700	"	"	—The diocese of Vincennes covers
Which equal	50,200	"	"	more territory than these six states.

II. The same six states have a population of *12,600,000* souls; Vincennes, about 600,000! or 1/21 part only, but her territory is as a whole at least equal and even greater than theirs. Imagine, therefore, 12 millions of inhabitants where this diocese commences in 1834 so unimpressive at the start! ... O Future! O Providence! "The Lord gives goodness and the land gives forth its fruit."

III. On November 5, 1834 [54] there took place the installation of the first bishop of Vincennes; a second priest, then two others were procured for him. There were 4 priests in January, 1836—several prepare themselves

[53] While the rest of the report is a distinct document, this French section seems to have been an enclosure in the Latin letter, presented at the same time.

[54] Cf. Sister M. Salesia, O.S.B., *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes*, (St. Meinrad, 1931), pp. 215-252.

to emigrate from Europe. How many will there be in 1840? in 1850...?

Msgr. Flaget was the only priest in this region 44 years ago where there are [now] 5 bishops and 130 priests at the harvest. Named the first bishop of the West in 1810, he has seen 4 more there, myself the last in 1834, to share his vast heritage: Bardstown, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit and Vincennes..." The Lord gives Goodness!..." in hope against hope ...Auspice Maria!

IV. The old French form a 40th or a 50th of the present population; the Germans and Swiss, perhaps a twelfth (50,000); the Irish, perhaps 1/3 (200,000).—The rest and the majority are Americans who have come from all states but especially from the East, from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and further east, New York, New England—also many from Kentucky and from Ohio, the neighboring states. The English language is spoken generally.

A. M. D. G.

The area of the United States is about 1,600,000 square miles, that of Europe 2,800,000 to 3,000,000; but Sweden, Norway, Lapland and the north of Russia cover more than 1,000,000 square miles of uninhabitable land while all the area of the United States is of land and climate favorable for population. It may, therefore, after a century have a population equal to that of Europe, which is about 223 or 227,000,000 souls; even if there would be only 150,000,000 to 200,000,000, what an America! What a prospect! What an immense interst to activate and favor the development of the Church herc. The Lord seems to accord such encouraging first blessings. What a future! What an appeal to our zeal...

The position of the United States between the Atlantic and the Pacific ocean is very remarkable. When the Americans will reach the Pacific our missions will face that of the Orient, the China of St. Francis Xavier, etc.—Already the Mississippi, half the way, has been passed...Some states and two bishoprics (St. Louis and New Orleans) are organized beyond it.

Note that the Holy Father gave, in 1835, 1 bishop to Calcutta, 1 to New Holland, 2 to the Isles of the Ocean on the route to Asia. And these have fixed their center of supply and correspondence on the shores of our Pacific at Valparaiso. As Macao was for China when traveling by way of the Cape of Good Hope, before perhaps a century people will go by way of the ports of the United States on the Pacific. "The Lord's is the land and the fullness thereof."

To give some idea of the area already occupied, the post [road] runs on an almost straight line from the northeast to the southeast; from Eastport to Washington 720 miles; and from Washington to New Orleans 1,264, from there to the Sabine River, the frontier of Texas, 190 miles—the total length of the road, 2,174 miles, or about 625 French leagues. After the

Convent of the Ursulines was burned during the riots at Boston the Ursulines of New Orleans [received the refugees] in peace in their convent 1,600 miles from there.

The population of the United States is characterized principally by regions according to the origin of its migration: English in the East and the Atlantic shores; with some from Ireland, especially around New York; and blacks and slaves below Delaware and Maryland. There are more Irish and Germans in the center of Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., and French in Louisiana. All these very general remarks, like those of the letters of the invariable,[55] are very inexact in politics, religion and morals as in natural history.

Missions of the United States A. M. D. G.
Notes of the Bishop of Vincennes (Msgr. Bruté) Auspice Maria
Rome, March 10, 1836.

The work of the foreign missions is the continuation of the work of Jesus Christ: to bring the nations from their darkness to his admirable light. The work is accomplished throughout the ages according to the measure and opportunities of Providence. For a half century and especially during the past twenty-five years it is the turn of these English colonies, now the United States of North America, where against all hope—since they were at first entirely Protestant—one sees an extensive and vigorous branch of the Holy Church establish itself and promise such a great future, provided that its first successes are seconded in time and with zeal.

The missions of the Orient so dear to the Faith are almost stationary. They sustain themselves and grow little by little by force of prayers and sufferings towards the time marked for their full development. Those of the United States, of a more recent creation, are more in movement and progress or are even in a decisive crisis[56] because the ministers of the sects are trying hard to check their progress. It is necessary to aid them and to procure an ever more abundant aid for the natives, the immigrants, the savages and even the Protestants, these four classes of souls all dear to the Lord. Caritas Christi urget!

The Catholics, less than 100,000 (even with Louisiana) at the time of the Revolution (perhaps not 30,000 in Maryland & Pennsylvania, nearly the only places where there were any), can be estimated already a million, but they are far from being administered to and provided with churches and priests within their reach.

[55] Bruté refers to the figures of the constant or the invariable in mathematical formulae.

[56] The rising storm of anti-Catholicism which he had noticed on his trip from Vincennes to New York.

The clergy, at the beginning scarcely 12 to 15, when Msgr. Carroll was made their first bishop, now approach nearly 400 under an archbishop and a dozen bishops. The institutions and religious houses or educational institutes begin to be numerous. The colleges and schools and some seminaries and novitiates will little by little bring about a desirable change of those dispositions until now so little favorable to the ecclesiastical state. It is necessary to multiply and sustain them at all cost. Those that exist and have begun to develop themselves and prosper would not exist if they had not been advanced help "in hope against hope". Their position ought to exercise its influence now, and although on this so important a point as ecclesiastical vocations there is in fact much to be desired, there is nevertheless already a real gain. In Maryland, Kentucky, Boston, a good number of vocations are found. In brief, about a fifth of the clergy are composed of Americans. The proportions of the different nationalities would be about these; we can believe the useful statistics on them such as the *Ecclesiastical Almanac*[57] of 1835 provides and supply some additions to them: In all 360 priests: of which

118 Irish and some English (Philadelphia, New York & Charleston are in great majority Irish).

There are really more of these two groups.

85 French and Alsatians, speaking German,
25 from Belgium and the banks of the Lower Rhine,

15 Germans and Swiss,
13 Italians and Piedmontese (New Orleans and St. Louis for the most part.)
2 Russian and Polish,
5 Spanish or Portuguese,
83 natives (at Baltimore-Kentucky-Boston)

346

(In addition [there is] an uncertain number, which would not change much the proportion of Americans). The spirit of industry and action in the families in every kind of business, their need of their boys, the example of the brothers and parents, and in the parents the slight attraction and the lack of initial confidence towards the foreigners who almost alone conduct the seminaries, are so many reasons which have hindered the undertaking of their education, from which they are discouraged because of its length and the precarious futures awaiting them when it should be finished.

[57] *The United States Catholic Almanac or Laity's Directory for the Year 1835.* (Baltimore, c. 1834).

The proportion of priests according to dioceses [is]:

(For the rest the following comparison is consoling. There were
not 25 priests in 1790
not 40 in 1810
not 80 in 1815
360 in 1835

Msgr. DuBourg, Msgr. Dubois, & the Sulpicians, the Jesuits, & the Lazarists have added most to the number. Msgr. Flaget also in Kentucky and Msgr. England &c.)

1. Baltimore has	68	priests
2. Philadelphia	45	
3. New York	35	
4. Boston	26	
5. Detroit	18	
6. Cincinnati	20	
7. Vincennes	2	
8. Bardstown	33	
9. St. Louis	39	
10. New Orleans	27	
11. Mobile	11	
12. Charleston	17	
13. Richmond (included under Baltimore	6)	
	341	

Observation: This list is that of the *Almanac* of 1835 but I have found in it already more than 15 omissions and there are others.

More near the truth 360.

Hierarchy:

1. Baltimore Archdiocese	2. Boston diocese	6. Charleston	10. Detroit
	3. New York	7. Mobile	11. Cincinnati
	4. Philadelphia	8. New Orleans	12. Bardstown
	5. Richmond vacant	9. St. Louis	13. Vincennes

Religious Societies:

I. Men:

1. Jesuits:	1. Maryland and Pennsylvania	1. Provincial, Residence & Missions	2 Colleges Georgetown	1 novitiate[58] Frederick	
	2. Kentucky	French	1 College		
	3. Missouri	Belgian	1 College	1 Florissant	
2. Dominicans:	1. Kentucky	residence &	1 College	1 St. Rose	
	2. Ohio	Missions			
3. Lazarists:	1. Missouri,	a seminary and	1 college	1 St. Mary	
4. Liguorists:[59]	1. Michigan,	Missions to the savages.			
5. Picpus:[60]	1. in Maine,	2 missions.			

6. Augustinians: 1 residence and a beautiful house in Philadelphia.

[58] These items are apparently to be read across the page.

[59] Members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer founded by St. Alphonsus Liguori.

[60] Members of the Congregation of the Most Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

7. Others as individuals scattered: Franciscans &c.

8. Sulpicians: 1. Baltimore.

II. Women:

1. Carmelites:	1 house at Baltimore
2. Visitation:	3 Baltimore, St. Louis, Mobile
3. Ursulines:	3 Boston, New Orleans, Charleston
4. Dominicans:	1 Cincinnati, 2 Bardstown (3rd Order)
5. Clarisses:	2 Philadelphia, Detroit
6. Sacred Heart:	5 New Orleans, St. Louis
7. The Mercy:	1 Charleston, foundation of Msgr. England
8. The Retreat:	1 Charleston
9. The Loretines:	8 Bardstown, St. Louis, Foundation of Mr. Nerinckx.[61]
10. St. Joseph of Lyons:	1 St. Louis
11. Oblates:	1 Baltimore, Foundation of Mr. Joubert[62] for colored women.
12. Daughters of Charity:	10 Baltimore, 1 Boston, 8 New York, 7 Philadelphia, 1 of Maryland, 1 Richmond, 1 Cincinnati, 2 St. Louis, 2 New Orleans, 2 of Kentucky, 7 Bardstown, 1 Vincennes. These 40 establishments are 34 schools or orphanages, 4 hospitals, 2 novitiates.

There are religious societies of men in 8 dioceses, of women in all. Baltimore has 2 of men and 40 of women in 16 or 17 establishments. Vincennes [has] 1 only of 4 sisters.

The progress of many of the religious societies has been very encouraging. For example, the Jesuits have added 3 colleges in 15 years, a novitiate and have added Kentucky and Missouri to their sphere of action. From the 15 priests, perhaps, in 1810 they have now more than 50 priests, besides their scholastics.

The Visitandines, at their origin and in 1810 at scarcely 7 or 8, have 3 houses and more than 80 or 90 sisters.

The Loretines have begun since 1812. The Sacred Heart since 18[18.]

As for the Daughters of Charity—in 1809 they were begun by a widow, a Protestant convert, who was not able to obtain a single sister from France for a model, but had only the books and rules of St. Vincent de Paul. Now behold there are more than 300 to 350 of them and 40 or more establishments after 25 years.

[61] Charles Nerinckx (1761-1824) founded the Sisters of Loretto in 1812.

[62] James H. N. Joubert (1777-1843), founder of the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

It is not necessary to observe how edifying is the sight of these religious institutes of women, those of the sisters particularly, their schools, the hospitals, [their care in] the cholera, their constant relations with so many families, etc. But I have mentioned them so often that I am inclined to forget the same kind of influence, each in its own way, of the other institutes; the Visitandines, the Sacred Heart, etc.

It is above all to the coming generation that they render an immense service. At New York alone, the largest city it is true, and where Msgr. Dubois has still to deplore the lack of sufficient resources for the youth of a Catholic population estimated in that city at 50,000 of the 250,000, the report of the schools in 1834 has given the Catholic schools, according to William's almanac (page 273): [63]

at St. Patrick	120 boys	& 12[8] girls		
St. Peter	330	300		
St. Mary's	191	187		
Church of Christ	274	321		
	915	936	Total	1,851
Add to the orphans of St. Patrick				176
of St. Joseph				102
the school of Brooklyn				105
				2,234

With the omissions of other schools, of which I recall some without knowing how many children they have, this would be 3,000 children of New York under Catholic teachers—a very great progress since 1786 when a few hundred Catholics were permitted for the first time to build themselves a little chapel. But we see many Catholic children are still taken up by the factories and the Protestant schools, etc.

CENSUS OF THE CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES—More than a *Million*

It is impossible to have an exact census.

Neither the bishops nor the missionaries have yet taken or been able to take measures that would give an authentic record, not even one that would be approximate, allowing for some errors of little importance.

Only estimates more or less uncertain have been made and the final figures depend upon the methods by which they were obtained.

I recall that at the Council of 1829 it was agreed unanimously that there were at least 500,000 Catholics. They stopped at this figure to be sure of

[63] Edwin Williams, *New York as it is in 1835*. (New York, 1835). Bruté evidently copied the number of girls at St. Patrick incorrectly making the number 128 read 125.

not exaggerating. Since then the Catholic papers, and particularly the *Miscellany* [64] of Charleston, frequently mention "our million" Catholics.—In 1832 the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association [65] of Vienna, which is cited in the table contained in the extract which has just been published in Italian (*Della Chiesa Catolica Negli Stati Uniti d'Amer*[a]. Verona, 1835, in 8 vol. 132 pages, "Tavola," p. 53), gives us 540,000 Catholics. The *Annales* of Lyons, no. 44 (Jan. 1836)[66] gives 600,000. This last figure would not represent even the direct progress from the 500,000 in 1829 ....

I am convinced (with many others who seem to me to have examined more in detail) that the number of Catholics is rather above than below the figure of 1,000,000, and that they are as numerous, if one takes the census of 1830—12,863,527 [67] as a basis, and much more so, taking the figures of 14,000,000 or 15,000,000 of 1836.

There are manifest decreases in the statement published in Verona, "Tavola &c." [68] For example, the diocese of Boston and the 6 New England states which it includes, are estimated at only 15,000 Catholics and meanwhile a letter dated [August 27, 1835] of Msgr. Fenwick of Boston contained in no. 43 of the *Annales* of Lyons, p. 183 [69] states that there are 22,000 of them in the city of Boston alone. Then page 184 continues thus ...."I have said before that there are now (1835) twenty-two thousand Catholics in Boston. If in the strict numbering there would be some difference, it would be *in our favor*. The number of baptisms last year, at the *Cathedral* is 720; that of marriages is 174; of burials 437; the total number of deaths in all the city during the same year amounted to 1,554. These reports indicate clearly that we do not exaggerate and at the same time they show the astonishing rapidity with which they have increased during the last 5 years, since before there was not half that number." (In 1810 Msgr. Cheverus counted only 2,000 or 3,000 at most. It is true that Boston has since more than doubled its population and that the public works have attracted many emigrants there.)

One can represent thus the condition of the dioceses in 1835:

[64] *The United States Catholic Miscellany,* founded by Bishop England in 1822.

[65] The figures are contained in the letter of Bishop John England to the Leopoldine Association on the condition of the Church in the United States. The table quoted in the Italian publication is given at the end of the Report together with other statistics. Cf. *Berichte de Leopoldine-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich,* VI, Beilage no. V. (1833.)

[66] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.* Lyons, vol. 8, no. 44, (Jan. 1836), p. 256.

[67] Bruté has copied the wrong figures, the 1830 population figure was 12,886,-020. Cf. note 65 *infra.*

[68] The same figures referred to in note 59 *supra.*

[69] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* "Lettre de M. Fenwick", Vol. VIII, no. 43 (November, 1835), pp. 180-188.

1. Baltimore	10,929 square miles	478,000 souls	100,000 Catholics	65 priests
2. Richmond	64,000 " "	1,211,000 "	Counted with Baltimore	5 "
3. Boston	76,427 " "	1,955,000 "	50,000 "	26 "
4. New York	48,500 " "	2,160,000 "	180,000 "	36 "
5. Philadelphia	51,200 " "	1,754,000 "	160,000 "	45 "
6. Bardstown	83,735 " "	1,177,000 "	50,000 "	40 "
7. Cincinnati	34,000 " "	938,000 "	100,000 "	21 "
8. Detroit	177,750 " "	100,000 "	25,000 "	18 "
9. St. Louis	221,000 " "	280,000 "	60,000 "	42 "
10. Vincennes	52,000 " "	600,000 "	50,000 "	5 "
11. New Orleans	93,350 " "	351,000 "	150,000 "	27 "
12. Mobile	117,625 " "	344,250 "	50,000 "	11 "
13. Charleston	132,000 " "	1,835,000 "	35,000 "	19 "
	1,167,816 square miles	12,433,250 souls	1,010,000 Catholics	360 priests or bishops
	Country outside the States included.	Error at least of 400,000.		

General Observations:

The first two columns [70] (the area and the population) are with some slight error nearly exact and official. The 3rd is an estimate according to the most accurate figures given for some parts of the dioceses, the most probable for some, vague for several, avoiding conjectures of the highest figure. The 4th [is] exact or very nearly so.

Observe: 1. That the estimate of Catholics includes those who do not have any priests, nearly half—especially if we include those visited rarely and only by chance.

2. That the number increases every year by immigration from Ireland, 3/4 and more being Catholic; from Germany, nearly or more than one-half being Catholic; from Belgium, France, Italy, not being very considerable—as is also the Spanish. We shall endeavor to render an account of them. It has been said that there were from 60,000 to 100,000 immigrants this year, 1835. The second figure is exaggerated, but it is clear that during these last 3 or 4 years the immigration has been considerable and has been able to pass 60,000.

3. The number increases by the ordinary proportion of births. We can judge how considerable this must be by the results of the first census made in the United States according to the Constitution, which decrees that it be renewed every 10 years.

1. Census 1790—3,929,827 [71] inhabitants			Increase in the 10 years
2. " 1800—5,305,925	"	since 1790	1,386,098
3. " 1810—7,239,514	"	since 1800	1,933,839
4. " 1820—9,638,191	"	since 1810	2,399,617
5. " 1830—12,866,020	"	since 1820	3,214,629

More than three millions more in 10 years; that is to say over the nine [millions] of 1820, one-third. The 12 [millions] in 1830 would be 16 in 1830 and 1 [million] Catholics would be more than 1,300,000 but the Catholics in each census have increased more than the others.

4. The [number] increases by conversions.

5. The [number] loses very few by apostasy.

6. The [number] loses more among the young who, lacking fundamental instruction, fuse into the Protestantism which surrounds them.

[70] The census of 1830 gives the total population of the United States in 1830 as 12,866,020.

[71] Bruté has made some errors in his figures. The increase in the first ten years should be 1,376,098. The population for 1810 should be 7,239,814 and the increase for ten years 1,933,889; for 1820 the increase for ten years was 2,398,377; and in 1830 the increase for ten years was 3,227,829. These figures are taken from the *Compendium of the Sixth Census*, published in 1841.

7. Nevertheless in the total result Catholicism has gained and gains much on Protestantism.

100,000 in 1790 would be as 1 to 39 or 1/39th.
1,000,000 in 1835 would be as 1 to 13 or 1/13th.

Protestantism, 1, Its condition. 2, Conversions. 3, Apostasy.

1. Its Condition.—There are in the United States all the Protestant sects. None in any state has legal preference or an exclusive position.

The sects having the most members are: the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians. Each is estimated at approximately 2,000,000.[72] Of these three, the first are the ones who gain the most proselytes and the second, almost the same,[73] despite their distinctive doctrines, are confused among themselves in the obscureness of the Bible. The Presbyterians are less popular in the interior of the country but are strong in the large wealthy cities, and their clergy are better educated, having many colleges of reputation. The first do not. These Presbyterians[74] are the most active agents and leaders of biblical societies, in the circulation of pamphlets, in missions, in building schools, etc. They are the most active and the most dangerous enemies of the church. The others are more directly concerned with their own progress; the Presbyterians are taken up with their opposition and hatred against the Church. Besides they are the most arrogant and even hateful and suspected by others of pretending to dominate and even suspected of desiring to make itself the national church and that of the councils and legislatures of every kind. Moreover, this third sect seems by its excess to lose some of its former popularity and not to be progressing as much as the other two.

The other sects numerous, but all less so than the Catholics, taken as a whole in the United States are:

the Episcopalians,
the Lutherans,
the Quakers,
the Universalists.

The first, strong in some parts of the East, do not gain in the West where the other three spread more rapidly. However, they pretend to be

[72] Bishop Davenport's *Gazeteer of Geographical Dictionary of North America and the West Indies* lists the three most numerous denominations in similar order, giving the membership as Calvinistic Baptists 2,743,453; Methodist Episcopal Church 2,600,000; and Presbyterians, General Assembly, 1,800,000. (P. 450.)

[73] This phrase can refer either to doctrine or to the number of members, since they are much the same in both sects.

[74] Ray Billington, in *The Protestant Crusade 1830-1860* (New York, 1938), discusses these activities.

everywhere with bishops and dioceses but they are such in name only. They do not have their own members except in the East, particularly New York and Philadelphia. In the West they have to preach to Presbyterians or such others who lack ministers, without these listeners being Episcopalians.

The Lutherans are stationary or more frequently lose as such. The Quakers were also for a long time a people entirely apart, but their latest generation loses more of its own form and assimilates itself to the other sects. The less numerous sects are:

the Unitarians,	the Swedenborgians or New Jerusalem,	the Covenanters,
the Christians,	the Shakers,	the Mennonites,
the Moravians,	the Mormons,	the Universalists, &c.

To describe these sects would be useless. Some, such as the Moravian Brothers, the Mennonites, the Swedenborgians, have their well known special beliefs. As to the Unitarians, Universalists and Christians, although also having their own ministries and churches, they represent rather opinions which have many more followers in the very bosoms of other sects than under their own special title.

For example the *Unitarians*, those who reject the Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ, are extremely numerous among sects of every kind although alone they form only a very weak body, except at Boston where the standard of Socinianism or Unitarianism was displayed in 1810 with ministers, special journals, etc.

The *Universalists*, those who believe in the final salvation of all, even of the demons, and deny the eternity of the pains of hell, are not less numerous by this kind of general acceptation, that is, as a belief common among all the other sects.

The *Christians*, those who deny all special ministry, every form of sect, and wish to confine themselves strictly to the Bible, constitute as a practical belief the most numerous sect but are very small as a body admitting for themselves that name alone, and they listen indifferently to every preacher. The others have their name from their origin, their form of ministry, etc., [such as] Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., but they are themselves only *Christians* for whom the Bible is everything, or, rather their belief.

Each good sized town contains churches and ministers who represent a certain number of these sects; the largest [towns] have some from nearly all of them, v.g., New York, a city of 250,000 souls in 1835, had 141 churches of Presbyterians, Universalists, Quakers, Catholics, Episcopalians.

The number of churches does not represent the number of members of the sects, but only the zeal of the ministers and the generosity of their friends in erecting them. Also, the Catholics, as numerous or more so,

than each separate sect in New York, except perhaps the Presbyterians, have only 6 churches for their population, estimated without exaggeration at 50,000 while the Presbyterians have 35 which is 6 times as many.

The condition of Protestantism cannot be understood properly by limiting oneself to the appearances of numerous and well built churches—without, however, elegance or regular forms—and to the lists of ministers from every sect. We must penetrate further and study the belief of the sectarians, of every name and of every origin. We find then that the most unlimited rationalism reigns generally among the upper classes, persons with some education and the greater number of people from the cities and small towns. Except a certain portion more attached to the personalities of the ministers or to the books and traditions of their families, there are hardly any longer articles of religion or Catechism and special creed to which they hold. Each sect is divided, even openly, into high and low church. The first composed of the principal ministers retain the characteristics of their sects and are called orthodox.[75] The second, always the most numerous, ignores them. The difference is becoming pronounced in the assemblies of all the sects, especially those of the Presbyterians. The Methodists have also had their schisms. And even the Quakers, reputed so peaceful and so contemplative, have reached the point of open separations and of the erection of separate buildings. But this is not the most common case. There is more indifference of belief and veritable giving up of all particular faith among most minds. They remain under the same roof; they use the same minister; and attend the same exercises, with beliefs entirely contradictory and contradictory in a thousand different ways. It is only against Catholicism that they remain unanimous—and yet, they are unanimous rather in living apart from her than in condemning her. It may seem surprising, and yet such is the case for a multitude of Protestants, that they believe her at least a Christian society as good as the others without thinking in any way of joining her.

Indifference and rationalism prevail and from 1810 to 1835 I have noticed more and more the difference between the actual condition of Protestantism and that which is preached.

Upon my arrival in 1810 if a Protestant were asked to what sect he belonged, he answered directly: I am an Episcopalian-Presbyterian-Lutheran. Now the answers are either indirect: "My parents *were*," or again, "I go to the Episcopalian church," or even "I usually go to your church,"—or again they answer directly: "I have not made any choice," or "I do not

[75] Dixon Ryan Fox, "The Protestant Counter-Reformation in America," in *New York History*, XVI, pp. 19-35.

belong to any sect," or "I just read my Bible," etc. One finds generally that they no longer have any special faith in any particular Protestant sect.

As to the religious practices the difference is more striking. It is deplorable to see that baptism ceases to be practiced generally. For a long time the communion or the Holy Table for which their controversialists disputed so much in other times, as if the church had deprived the faithful of half (the chalice), has been practiced very little. But baptism was still generally practiced 30 or 40 years ago. The Baptists even wanted it by immersion. Now, especially as it moves westward, the population generally omit it, satisfied with the Bible of which even the reading is being neglected more lately. It is strange to note that the more the biblical societies have spread the Bible the more people have begun to be indifferent to it. The abolition of baptism has taken away the consolation of the remark of St. Augustine that the Church increased by the sects as well as by the faithful. The generation which is growing up is almost entirely infidel. Moreover, this should excite the zeal of missionaries to go and remedy this defect in [their] faith, and baptize or get them to baptize many of those who have been dying without the first step towards conversion, the desire for baptism—at least to baptize as many of the children as possible. (Please understand well, what has been so poorly said.)

Such are some general remarks about Protestantism. There would be much to add to these simple notes—for example on the subdivision of the sects—the Presbyterians into 4 or 5 shades—the Methodists into as many —the Baptists into several. It suffices to mention the chapters on them in recent works on the sects. There are the Mennonites, the Calvinistic Baptists, the General Baptists, the Campbellite Baptists who in a recent edition of the New Testament, for their own use have rejected every form of the word "baptist" and substituted "immersion" and "immerse" in its place. "Go and immerse the nations." Then, the Dunkards who wear beards like our Capuchins; the Sabbatarians, not very numerous, who believe that the Sabbath or Saturday is still the day of rest and that it was Constantine and the Roman Church who substituted Sunday for it; the Emancipators who make the abolition of slavery a point of their faith, etc. The observance of Sunday is itself relaxed a little, although it remains more national than in Europe. As a result of this freedom of all opinion, Sunday has become in society a conventional day of rest from work.

There are besides a great number of Protestants who without realizing the consequences believe in good faith in Christianity in general as a divine religion. It is among these that our instructions or our books have their effect, calling them to a rule of faith and, in consequence, to its unity and to the Church, where it alone can exist and where they can avoid a complete shipwreck.

Conversion of Protestants

It is necessary to consider the conversions:

1. By direct teaching.
2. By education among Catholics.
3. By mixed marriages.
4. By sojourns in the hospitals or otherwise, on the verge of death.
5. By the example of the ministers.

Then to examine the obstacles: [76]

1. Of prejudice and ignorance.
2. Of human respect and fears.
3. Of scandals.

I observe first in brief that there have been a very strong proportion of Protestants converted in our United States since the American Revolution. Since 1810 when I arrived—Bishop Carroll, at that time the only bishop, pointed it out to me with consolation; there were then only 30 or 40 priests, the number now is more than 360—every year many Protestants have submitted themselves to the church; first by direct instruction—either by reading good Catholic works or by conversing with some simple but instructed laymen who conduct them subsequently to priests, or in following a long time the course of Catholic instruction in our churches which they always frequent in great numbers. Thus every year each pastor receives converts of every class and everywhere there are some from even the upper classes. A Governor of Maryland, M. Lee,[77] senator more recently, some lawyers, judges, doctors, I have counted as many as 12 of these in different states, etc.

2. The observance of our disciplinary rules in mixed marriages is a great means of extinguishing the Protestant lines; the non-Catholic party being always obliged to promise that all the children will be reared Catholic. They never permit the division of the children. It is, moreover, nearly always at the church that the Protestant partner arouses himself to assist with the other partner and soon to visit amicably the pastor of the Catholic partner before whom he was obliged to have the marriage [ceremony].

[76] Bruté does not give a separate discussion of the obstacles but refers to them in his discussion of the other five topics. Bishop Celestine de la Hailandière, his successor, in his notes listed the causes for growth as: 1, immigration; 2, conversions; 3, increase by births; 4, mixed marriages; and 5, the lack of prejudiced against the Church among the people on the frontier. The obstacles he found were: 1, the fact that the priests did not speak the language of the people; 2, that the priests were too few; and 3, that they did not have sufficient means to carry out their plans. Hailandière Notes, University of Notre Dame Archives.

[77] Apparently Thomas Sim Lee (1745-1819).

3. Our schools, either of boys or of girls, all receive a great number of Protestant students. They follow all the religious exercises of the school and hear constantly the same instructions. Consequently the prejudices generally give way before these new lights. Many desire to become Catholics and obtain the consent of their parents. If it is more generally refused, they can follow their desire when they return into their family. And it happens thus to them, particularly because young persons are more faithful when they return to the world in retaining the impressions so very favorable to religion which they have received and the desires which they have of being Catholics. In fact we see a number of them becoming Catholics; either they obtain the consent of their parents, or, a number of times, I have seen them having to suffer for it from them different kinds of bad treatment. For with their general profession of tolerance they frequently have to suffer in different ways in order to become Catholics—especially the men in a country full of elections, of business, of popularity, full of so many kinds of indirect influences which complicate the clear impression that any study of the Catholic controversy gives at the first sight of the evidence.

However, if fewer of the students, especially boys, of our schools than should be expected, are converted to the point of professing and practicing the faith fully, one can say that the greater part recognize its excellence before they leave their Catholic teachers and enjoy besides the thousand good effects of the attachment which all—and I speak as much of the boys as of young people—preserve the most perseveringly for us. It often happens that very well instructed in our holy religion and shocked often with the absurdities, calumnies and bad reasonings of every kind they hear in the Protestant world, they contradict them, even by their own natural love of triumph in argument or explanation, and conduct themselves as so many apologists of the faith, of the Church and its practices, and of the clergy in whose care they have lived. The striking proof of such is in the discontent of the ministers on this subject and extreme position which the general assembly of Presbyterian ministers has recently taken (June, 1835).[78] They have passed two decrees the first to assure the success of

[78] The resolutions of the General Assembly were as follows:

1. *Resolved,* That it is the deliberate and decided judgment of this Assembly that the Roman Catholic Church has essentially apostatized from the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot be recognized as a Christian church.

2. *Resolved,* That it be recommended to all in our communion, to endeavor, by the diffusion of light, by means of the pulpit and the press, and all other proper and Christian means, to resist the extension of Romanism, and lead its subjects to the knowledge of the truth as it is taught in the word of God.

the second. 1. That the church of Rome is too deep in its idolatry and superstitions to recognize her as a true Christian Church; 2. That Protestants cannot in conscience confide their children to Catholic houses of education. This excess has resulted only in hurting them in the public mind and at the same time, as it so happens, to make people speak more of our schools which have had more students than in the preceding years, as I have been able to verify it by several.

4. I have spoken of hospitals. It is a consoling fact that, in those conducted by the Sisters of Charity (4 noteworthy ones), of the great number of Protestants who have come there more than half are converted when there is danger of death. These good Daughters for this holy motive take great care of them, prepare them for death and speak of them to the ecclesiastics who visit the hospitals.

Even in the hospitals conducted by Protestants our priests going there to visit the Catholics and edifying those in charge, have occasion to regain a number of other sick persons. In time of epidemics these results have been notable.

Finally, there has resulted a good number of conversions of the sick or dying by visits of friendship, charity and zeal, at first by Catholic neighbors, then of ecclesiastics. I have had many such cases and it should be observed that these conversions have a secondary effect often much more extensive. For if these sick have children, they demand that they be reared Catholic after them and take what appropriate measures they can with the priests and their Catholic friends. Add to this the example made more impressive for their Protestant friends by these convictions and consolations of their last and decisive moments which they often witness. And very many are deeply impressed. A host of examples come to my memory as I write.

5. Add a certain number of conversions of ministers whose sincerity proves itself both by their writings to explain it and by the consequent testimony of considerable losses for themselves. Although there have been some apostasies of evil priests, the motives of interest or of the other most vile passions have been too evident to our Catholics, who know that these men are ordinarily under ecclesiastical censure, to have for them any effect like a conviction that their defection was the result of the ascendancy of the causes which they embraced.

3. *Resolved,* That it is utterly inconsistent with the strongest obligation of Christian parents to place their children for education in Roman Catholic seminaries. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America from 1821 to 1835,* p. 490.

I repeat as a general result, that the proportion of Catholics whom we have as a product of conversions is very considerable for one who has been a long time on the missions and has realized the origin of his Catholic flock. What seems only to have been an unimportant factor becomes very remarkable. Having been a long time in the midst of a country where we have had several truly pious Catholic parishes, I have said sometimes to my friends: "See, there is nearly a third of these good families which are of Protestant origin", and no one ever contradicts me. I came to them with facts and particular names and justified what I had said.

Government—Law

The constitutions of the states assure every freedom. That of the United States as a federation, maintains so much equality that a priest or bishop can sit in the Congress, be President of the United States. M. Richard [79] in 1824 and 1825 is an example of the first case.

Those of the states exclude from official positions, for the most part, ministers of every sect. There are exceptions. They are also dispensed from military service.

They recognize the validity of marriages made before authorized clergy. That is understood in different degrees. There are some states where every minister recognized as such in his sect suffices. In others a state license is necessary. In the slave states the written permission of the owner is required.

Divorce is legal everywhere, and in different states for very numerous causes, v.g., in Indiana, "absence of two years with the intention to separate." But there is religious liberty for priests to refuse to marry a divorcee, to admit him to the sacraments, to assist at his burial.

In the matter of burials the church is free but the discipline varies according to the dioceses.

Vows are free but "ignored" and without effect before the law.

Religious institutes organize themselves and govern themselves, equally "ignored" as such.

The acts of legal incorporation in order to possess, to receive, to administer, to perpetuate oneself are granted without any regard whatsoever to the religion of the members on the sole basis of *association* for a legitimate end, examined and recognized as such by the legislature of each state; and the rules of admission or exclusion also are examined and legalized by it as to the legal effect. There are a few states, v.g., Virginia, where, I believe, an association for a purely religious object is always extremely restricted, for example it cannot possess more than two arpents for an establishment. Others do not limit or do so very broadly.

[79] Rev. Gabriel Richard (1767-1832), delegate from the Territory of Michigan to Congress in 1823-1825.

The right to establish schools is equally unlimited. In several states they recognize the university degrees of bachelor, doctor, etc., and the Catholic colleges like the others obtain the required authorization. In Maryland, the College of the Sulpicians at Baltimore, of the Jesuits at Georgetown, of Mt. St. Mary under the secular priests, have the rights of a university. St. Louis, also, in Missouri.

The freedom of printing doctrine, controversy and pastorals of bishops is general. This freedom is left to the printers and editors, whose personal interest can obstruct it. They are not obliged to print them if they fear to displease their readers, a frequent case for the newspapers. One is not obliged to contribute to any religion but his own; but for the common schools there are some states where by their organization one must contribute. Sometimes the Catholic schools share in the distribution of these contributions if they are the ones to accomplish the purpose of it, in the locality.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Bible is Human: A Study in Secular History. By Louis Wallis. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 330. $2.50.)

This book is an explicit piece of anti-religious apologetics, presented under the aspect of a sociological study. Its catchy title conveys no true notion of the contents, which concern themselves solely with the history of Palestine in the formative period of Israel and the period of the monarchy under Saul, David, and the later kings until 586 B.C. It is regrettable that Mr. Wallis, having found the concept of the miraculous incompatible with his understanding of the world, could not take the trouble to inquire whether it does not fit more plausibly than he makes it do into a view of the world slightly less earth-bound than his own. He apparently desires to write only for those who agree with him *a priori*, or who do not know enough of any systematic presentation of revealed religion to recognize the pitiful inadequacy of his portrayal of it.

The criterion for an acceptable reader of the book is a very exacting one, and it is the reviewer's fervent hope that as few people as possible may find themselves qualified. Those who would do so must, among other things, be satisfied that all of human life is to be explained primarily in terms of economic and sociological considerations. They must, in addition, be willing to endorse the postulate that the class warfare interpretation of history covers all the essentials of an approach to the past. They will then be treated to a rehash of the rocking-chair type of literary dissection of the Old Testament sources which makes no allowance for any intellectual condition between gullibility and malice on the part of those from whom we have them. For apologetic purposes, the several books are traced to a concatenation of literary simpletons and tricksters that borders perilously on the tabooed miraculous. This is done with the necessary minimum of philological discussion; and the mechanical treatment of a restricted number of terms, combined with a series of implausibilities, inconsistencies, and slips in transcribing or explaining Hebrew words might make us grateful that there is not more. American scholarship now sets a very high standard for the philological and archaeological equipment of a worker in this field of history. It will hardly welcome a presentation which makes practically no use of linguistic or archaeological background material for the Old Testament narratives from the ancient Near Eastern areas whose culture was close to, and kindred with, that of ancient Palestine.

Nor will it welcome second-hand presentation of archaeological misinformation on Palestine itself from a history of Israel notoriously defective in its treatment of just such topics (cf. p. 83, note).

In four separate places, we find reference to a statement of Julius Wellhausen, the exponent *par excellence* of the literary-critical technique in scrutinizing Old Testament history. That statement is: "We cannot tell why Jehovah of Israel, rather than Chemosh, the god of Moab, became the patron of righteousness and the Creator of the Universe." Mr. Wallis then employs Wellhausen's exact technique as his own sole tool for sifting the sources. He seizes upon the terms *'adōn* and *ba'al* as the clues which are to lead us to a solution of the question regarding the primacy of Israel's God. The use of these terms is not without interest; and a careful and well-rounded analysis by someone not fettered by dogmatic aprioristic absorption with a modern economic and sociological hypothesis may still add something to our understanding of them. For Mr. Wallis, they lead to the conclusion that the exclamation, "Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord", was "in effect a spiritual climax to the long-continued struggle of the *am ha'arets*, or poor and needy *'adonim* of the country districts, against the wealthy oppressors, or *baalim*, who lived in the security of walled cities."

We are assured that "The distribution of *adon* and *baal* in the sources follows a natural tendency, which is disclosed, not by grammatical and literary analysis, but by study of the objective historical circumstances amid which the documents evolved." For his objective historical circumstances, however, Mr. Wallis is dependent upon the Wellhausen heritage, which in turn is the fruit of grammatical and literary source-analysis pushed even beyond its logical extremes in the service, not of any objective reality, but of a bundle of super-sophisticated modern philosophical postulates. These postulates are of a nature to close the door to either reasonableness or honesty on the part of the ancients in their testimony to the very facts of their national life which were clearly of most interest to the biblical writers. By Mr. Wallis' own admission, this same facet of the Hebrew national existence which is excluded from serious consideration *a priori* is the only occasion for a modern interest in the ancient Hebrews.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN

The Catholic University of America

Saint Cecil Cyprian, Early Defender of the Faith. By Joseph H. Fichter, S.J. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. xi, 282. $2.50.)

The problem of St. Cycil Cyprian's episcopate has been a troublesome one for several decades, and Catholic writers have obviously avoided involving themselves with its difficulties. The result has been that no Eng-

lish biography of Cyprian has been written, with the exception of the one published by White Benson, an Anglican clergyman, at the close of the last century. Benson's work represents an antipapal viewpoint, and for this reason the recent biography by Father Fichter fulfills a special need. The task has been well done, and the present work is a skillful blending of scholarship and fascinating reading. Those concerned with the technical aspects of Cyprian's misunderstanding with Pope Stephen will find adequate stimulation, while on the other hand the average serious-minded reader will call the book interesting and entertaining. The author has entirely avoided the two common pitfalls of hagiographic writing, namely sentimentality and pedantry.

The early life of St. Cyprian, before his conversion around 245, is not well known, and for this reason the subject matter of the present work deals mainly with his last thirteen years of life. During this time Cyprian was elevated to the priesthood and the episcopacy; he endured two persecutions, a plague and a barbarian invasion, before receiving the crown of martyrdom on September 14, 258. Throughout these busy years, however, he found time to carry on a voluminous correspondence, and to write several works, which more than anything else have preserved his name to posterity. A considerable part of Father Fichter's work is given over to a discussion of these writings, as they occur chronologically. The author begins in fact with a discussion of Cyprian's early work *On the Vanity of Idols*, and the letter to Donatus, and continues with a very good chapter dealing with the two books, *On the Dress of Virgins* and *Testimonies against the Jews*. Cyprian's struggles with Novatus and Novatian form a kind of prelude to the climax of the biography, which is, of course, written about the disagreement between Cyprian and Pope Stephen over the rebaptism of heretics. On this subject the author has excellently defended Cyprian by stressing the point that the disagreement between the two churchmen was rather a misunderstanding about the question of how heretical baptism was to be technically construed, than any disagreement about dogma. As Father Fichter points out (p. 205), Cyprian was in perfect agreement with Pope Stephen on the dogmatic fact that there is only one baptism: "There cannot be two baptisms, and if heretics truly baptize, then they have this baptism." (Ep. 71). The real argument between Cyprian and Stephen was thus whether or not heretics could and did fulfill the intention and forms of the sacrament; this is still a perplexing problem in the case of converts even today. Father Fichter in bringing out this point has removed the possibility that the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Carthage ever disputed dogmatic problems, a contention which has been wrongfully put forth with considerable satisfaction by Protestant writers from time to time.

The book closes with a chapter on the Antipapal Synod, in which Father Fichter maintains that there is no positive historical evidence for the statement that St. Cyprian was ever excommunicated by Pope Stephen, though he admits that Stephen's patience must have strained to the breaking point by his relations with Cyprian. The closing chapter gives an inspiring description of St. Cyprian's martyrdom and death.

LEIGHTON B. BROWN

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The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia and Africa (1800-1914), Vol. V. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New York; Harper and Bros. Pp. ix, 526. $4.00.)

Scholars and students interested in the history of religion have been following since 1937 the successive appearance of these classical volumes fathered by the ripe scholarship of Professor Latourette. In this, the fifth volume of the series (there will be two more) the high quality of preceding units has been maintained and even, in our opinion, surpassed. Particularly worthy of commendation in covering so delicate a field is the spirit of just appraisal and presentation which pervades the volume, offering a detached and objective narrative of an epic development. This illustrates the advance of historiography within the twentieth century, for these pages are unsoiled by the carping jealousies and rivalries of the Christian denominations.

The reader is taken here on a far journey: Canada first, then over to Greenland, south to the Caribbean, and then on to South America; from here west across the sea to Australia and New Zealand; then back east again and over the innumerable islands which dot the Pacific: Tahiti, the Marquesas, the Samoan group, the Fiji Islands, and those which have in these days been torn by war: Hawaii, the Solomons, New Guinea, and the Philippines. From Micronesia and Polynesia we strike west again to the East Indies, and on still west to Madagascar and the islands of the Indian Ocean. Our global journey terminates with Africa where we learn of all the multicolored Christian heroism expended in bringing light to the dark continent south of the Sahara.

The missionary ardor and vigor of English and American Protestantism is well illustrated in this narrative and it is illuminating. The reader becomes aware of the great debt owed by the uncivilized peoples of isolated lands to such groups as the London Missionary Society and the American Methodists, Presbyterians, and Quakers; and to such men as W. G. Lawes in the Pacific islands and to the great David Livingston in central Africa. We read too in these chapters how Catholic priests and nuns sustained with

unflagging energy the high missionary tradition set by their forebears in the faith and a heroism of the members of the religious orders almost undiminished, it would seem, since the resounding days of the Catholic Reformation. The exception here is Latin America where in certain parts there was in the earlier nineteenth century rather a recession of wholesome Christianity and a noticeable sag in Catholic missionary endeavor. The reasons for this are justly given by the author, and indeed they are well known. Fifteen years of revolutionary upset, flight back to Spain of certain of the clergy, anti-clerical troubles and civil wars—all of these and other causes worked injury at one time to Latin American Catholicism and lessened its expansive vigor. Here a delicate point is touched upon. Professor Latourette does not disapprove of the activities of North American Protestants among Latin American Indians as yet uncivilized, nor even of such Protestant activity among nominal Catholics. He thinks that for one thing such competition will act as a wholesome stimulus to certain Catholic groups and bestir a lethargy born of long possession.

There is one additional good task this present volume will perform; it will show to the Catholic, as to the Protestant, the energy and the heroism of the missionaries of either group, unfortunately separated and often misunderstanding one another. Such a work is finely constructive. In the forthcoming volumes the word "Roman" should be dropped before "Catholic". Its frequent repetition is unpleasant, nor is it at all necessary. Everybody knows that "Catholic" designates the Roman Catholic Church. In the present volume there are maps, a good Index, and a vast Bibliography.

PETER M. DUNNE

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Religion and the State. The Making and Testing of an American Tradition. By Evarts B. Greene, DeWitt Clinton Professor Emeritus of American History in Columbia University. (New York: New York University Press. 1941. Pp. 172. $2.75.)

The present work comprises six lectures delivered by Professor Greene at New York University under the auspices of the Stokes Foundation and the Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History. In point of scope they extend from the European politico-religious traditions of the sixteenth century, from which America took its first ideas and direction, to an essay with which Professor Greene concluded his series, entitled "The American Tradition Tested". In the latter the author discusses recent famous cases involving church-state relationships in the United States, such as the Macintosh naturalization case of 1930 and the New York bill for

released time for religious instruction for public school children in 1940. Throughout the volume there is a note of genuine urbanity and quiet mastery which readers of Professor Greene's earlier works have come to expect from his ripened scholarship and eminent fairness in treating with the delicate issues involved in American religious history.

It is evident that the author has acquainted himself widely with the sources and secondary literature of American Catholic history. Few works known to the reviewer from the pens of non-Catholic historians and dealing with Catholic issues have shown a greater familiarity with the Catholic literature on the subject. In that connection it might have been helpful for the author to have employed the series of monographs done under the direction of Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University of America on the subject of Nativism in the section where Professor Greene treats of Religion and Party Politics. Again, in the pages devoted to the impressions of the American religious scene written by foreign visitors, he would have found the article of Professor John J. Meng of Queens College on "A Century of American Catholicism as Seen through French Eyes", in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, XXVII (April, 1941), 39-68, of service.

That the Catholic issue was always to the forefront in any discussion of American relations of Church and State, is made quite evident to the reader of Professor Greene's volume, should he have had any previous doubts in the matter. All through the course of the colonial and national periods the question of reconciling Catholic fidelity to the Holy See with loyalty to the United States remained a serious matter to many Protestant minds. It is, so it seems to the reader, a doubt which the historical record resolves in a singularly clear manner, for all the effort of three centuries has not uncovered any evidence of treason to an essential American ideal on the part of those who have retained their spiritual loyalty to Rome. Of course, that the question is still a live one in the minds of some Professor Greene is fully aware, as his remarks concerning the appointment of Myron C. Taylor as personal representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII show (p. 3). The reviewer noted only one printer's slip, viz., "1828" instead of "1928" (p. 3).

We have here, then, a series of six brief essays on the gradual growth in America of the tradition of a free Church in a free State, evolving only very painfully in colonial days but hastened by the events of 1776 and gradually sloughing off the barriers erected by individual colonies and states until we arrive at the present situation which, if it is not perfect, is, at least in the main, a satisfactory *modus agendi* wherein peoples of various religions may work out their salvation according to the lights given them by God under the protection of a State which gives no favor to any one church but equal liberty to all to pursue their mission. Scholars whose special field is American religious history, intelligent general readers, and students of

religion will find much authentic data gathered within the covers of this slender volume and the data expressed in a style and a tone which reflect the reputation which the learned author enjoys for sound scholarship and high personal integrity.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by Grace Lee Nute, Curator of Manuscripts, Minnesota Historical Society. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xix, 469. $5.00.)

This volume contains a collection of documents pertaining to the resumption of Catholic missions among the Indians and early settlers of the Northwest. Most of them have been copied from the archiepiscopal archives in Quebec. Only one document dates from 1815; the others, ranging from 1816 to 1827, are arranged in chronological order, and in most cases the original French is reproduced followed by the translation. This book makes available primary sources for the early history of Minnesota and North Dakota. Being business letters, the documents frequently touch upon canon law and are not so rich in interesting details as might be expected. They came largely from the pens of Joseph Norbert Provencher, Sévère J. N. Dumoulin, Thomas F. Destroismaisons, Bishop Plessis of Quebec, and Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk.

In 1811 the Hudson's Bay Company granted Lord Selkirk a tract of land which extended quite far into the present United States. Although Winnipeg became the center of the colony, Lord Selkirk seems to have expected Grand Forks to become the center. A rival organization, the North West Company, had its headquarters in the province of Quebec, and, since it employed people from that area, the *habitants* sympathized with it in its violent struggle against the Hudson's Bay Company. Selkirk, understanding the source of opposition, endeavored to secure priests for his colony, because they would enjoy prestige and promote law and order as well as colonization. Bishop Plessis, on the other hand, used the opportunity to become an archbishop, although in deference to the British Government, the pope allowed him to waive the title. This fact, of course, must be interpreted against the background of 1763, even though the status of Catholics improved owing to their loyalty in the War of 1812. Although both Selkirk and Plessis achieved their goal, the bishop in 1818 cautioned his missionaries to maintain absolute impartiality toward the two companies and to instruct the people by word and deed in regard to the respect which they owed to His Majesty.

Although Miss Nute had a priest translate one document (p. 10), she would have been well advised to have consulted him more frequently.

Thereby she probably would have avoided the blunder of rendering *Rogate ergo Dominum messis* (p. 398) "Therefore beseech the Lord in Masses". The source of this, Matt. IX, 38, is not given, although at times biblical citations are made (pp. 181, 400). The former reference, incidentally, should read 6, 2, not 9, 2. The editor likewise erred in translating a legal ecclesiastical term, *disparitas cultus* (p. 294), "on account of difference in civilization". In the glossary the term *componenda* is defined "fines collected by the Church from penitents and used for charitable purposes". No source is given for this, but the definition appears to be inapt and is probably erroneous. Catholics will dislike reading "that the high Mass cost fifteen shillings" (p. 338) and seeing in the Index, "Mass, prices for". The Index also gives the name Pius as "Pious". In a few places the translation might be better; for example, "irritating" in its usual sense differs greatly from its legal meaning. Fortunately most of the errors do not vitiate the text, so the work can be regarded as a worthy contribution to the patrimony of historians.

The volume has a Preface which sketches the background of the period and touches upon the evolution of the Canadian hierarchy. While it contains no list of the documents, it has a detailed Index and helpful footnotes are found throughout the volume.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED

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Notre Dame, One Hundred Years. By Arthur J. Hope, C.S.C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 482. $4.00.)

The great number of men of that illustrious body—the alumni of Notre Dame—as well as students and friends of the University, generally, will see in Father Hope's *Notre Dame, One Hundred Years,* a book, the reading of which is the fulfilling of a happy obligation—an imperative that resolves itself into a privilege. The book narrates the story of the many labors of those whose sacrifices from its foundation until the present time have made Notre Dame the great institution it is. And delightfully interwoven with the story are happy little incidents of everyday life to be found in groups of students as well as with faculty members of a university. The author has not canonized any of the great builders of Notre Dame. He rather lets them stand as they were against the background of the human sustained by the divine; and if human weakness protrudes itself, Father Hope does not conceal the fact but narrates it with the thought that, "Notre Dame and her men are big enough and glorious enough to survive criticism."

The book was written in preparation for the centennial observance of the foundation of the University. It heralds the success, achievements, and contributions of Notre Dame through her founders and her sons during

those one hundred years. Illustrious on that long roster of splendid men—to name only a few—are Sorin, Moreau, John A. Zahm, Albert Zahm, Julius Nieuwland, John W. Cavanaugh, John F. O'Hara, and J. Hugh O'Donnell.

To those who are interested in the early history of the Church in Indiana in those remote years, the book has many facts of value. The story of Sorin and his companions is epic in quality. In their courage, their ingenuity, and their resourcefulness and withal their deep spirituality readers will find inspiration. Father Hope anticipates the justifiable criticism that may be made of his work: "This history," he records in the Preface, "is not without its imperfections. . . . There was the necessity of haste. It was impossible for me, in the space of fourteen months to absorb fittingly all the material and sources placed at my disposal."

There are evidences in the work of haste, lack of co-ordination, and subordination of material, some repetitions, and several typographical errors. These could have been eliminated by more careful proof-reading.

Appended to the volume is a very adequate Index. The Bibliography gives evidence of the devious paths through which his research led the author in pursuit of the achievement of his task.

FINTAN G. WALKER

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Constantine the Great. By Lloyd B. Holsapple. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1942. Pp. xix, 475. $3.00.)

Constantine, together with the important and difficult problems connected with his times, has been the subject of many scholarly researches. Now Professor Holsapple brings out his *Constantine the Great* which he intends more as a general study justified by reason "of the vast amount of ignorance regarding Constantine among generally well-informed people (p. 1)".

In writing this book the author has aimed "to approach the records free from prejudice and with the single purpose of trying to understand what the actual Constantine was like in his true historic setting" (p. 5). Also he has sought to learn of Constantine the man, of his achievements and relation to the Church, from the authorities best equipped to give a true picture of him, distinguishing as far as possible the historic from the legendary, and recounting, as the opportunity arises, the legends that have grown up about him and trying to discover the basis of truth or the original misapprehension of fact which gave rise to this legendary material (p. 10).

After an Introduction, the first three chapters deal with the Empire and Church before Constantine. Chapters IV-XV constitute the life of the emperor developed chronologically. Constantine's life is unfolded from birth to death and the well-known Constantinian problems of these years are discussed. Following this are five chapters developed topically. These treat of the benefactions of Constantine, the Donation of Constantine, his achievements, the real Constantine, and Constantine and the Church. The final chapter traces fourth-century history to Theodosius.

Professor Holsapple's study is inclusive and appreciative, yet withal balanced and objective. Although social, political, and military aspects of the period are not overlooked, greater stress is laid on religion due to the religious significance of the times. Constantine's conversion from the beginning is a religious conversion that admitted of limitations and that left room for actual progress (pp. 175-177, 441). The questions concerned with the Edict of Milan are discussed and then an investigation is made into the religious principles underlying it. The author, in tracing Constantine's relation with the Church, uses Constantine's laws and coinage and particularly (following Baynes) his edicts and letters. Thus the emperor's support of the Church was wholehearted, but a support that involved interference that was based on reasons of unity and peace in the state and a too superficial grasp of theological niceties. It was an interference which led to coercion and sentences of exile and which laid the foundation for Caesaro-Papism (pp. 259, 268, 424, 435, 441). Part of the blame for Constantine's interference in Church matters is attributed to Lactantius, who had an incomplete grasp of Christian principles and also to Eusebius of Caesarea and Eusebius of Nicomedia who were adulating court bishops (pp. 436-438). However, it might have been indicated that leading ecclesiastics either tolerated or expressly solicited the intervention of the emperor. Moreover, those who were condemned by the emperor at this time did not contest the principle of the intervention of the State. The errors in the religious policy of Constantine are not passed over. Despite these errors, the author claims that Constantine the first Christian emperor is deservedly called "Great" because he was the first to recognize the intrinsic power and truth in the Christian religion and to visualize the Empire as one day united under that religion (p. 443).

Taking the book as a whole, it seems to suffer from a lack of proportion. The first three chapters of background are relatively too long. Dynastic changes and political collusions carried over centuries make dull reading. The last chapter appears as an unnecessary appendage. With this cut out and the first three chapters reduced, Professor Holsapple could have expanded his notes. Palanque, Vols. II-III of Fliche-Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, Baynes' chapter in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and Dölger,

Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit should have been indicated. Moreover, with a little cutting down on legendary material he could have gone into more detail, treating the *pro* and *contra* of the various interpretations of Constantine (pp. 177, 422-424). This would bring his own stand out in greater light. The author has covered a great deal of material. In such a range some problems are treated in too off-hand a manner, e.g., the dating of the Council of Elvira (p. 83), Elvira's stand regarding those who held the office of *flamen* or *duumvir* (pp. 82-83), the Church and military service (p. 85), the question of the *oratio* of Constantine (pp. 340-341). The historical background of Caesaro-Papism (influences both within and without the Roman Empire) should have been indicated.

All in all, however, the volume merits a warm welcome. It is by no means a mere popularization. The "generally well-informed people" for whom he wrote it will profit greatly by it. Such a work that keeps abreast of scientific research and brings it to the people in this manner fills a definite need. Unfortunately the Index is limited to names; some compensation is made by occasional references in notes and a generous table of contents. Such names as Constantine and Diocletian should be in the Index and indexed very thoroughly. Three plates and a map are included and add to the value of the work.

ALFRED C. RUSH

The Catholic University of America

Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. I. *His Life and Times.* By Francis J. Tschan. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Publications in Mediaeval Studies. Volume VI. 1942. Pp. vii, 235. Paper $3.25; cloth $4.00.)

Professor Tschan has given us a fascinating book, which, logically and dramatically planned, holds the reader's interest throughout. Withal it is real history as the thorough documentation on almost every page proves.

The author evinces a full knowledge of the sources and the literature—most of them naturally Latin and German—bearing both directly and indirectly on his subject. Unfortunately his references to the first two volumes of Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* are to the first edition instead of to the third and fourth edition. The same is true of his frequent references (p. 7 ff.) to the first edition of E. Dümmler's *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* in two volumes (Berlin, 1862-65), instead of to the second edition in three volmes (Leipzig, 1887-88). Moreover, the author's knowledge of his subject is not merely academic, for he had the opportunity of personally visiting and studying the locality in which St. Bernward served the Church as a bishop for well nigh three decades (993-1022).

True to its title, the book gives us Bernward's life in full with a vivid and concrete picture of his times. The contemporary *Vita Sancti Bernwardi*, written by Thangmar (*c.* 950-1024?), Bernward's teacher at the cathedral school of Hildesheim and later dean of Bernward's cathedral chapter, forms the groundwork of Professor Tschan's biography. The last chapter is devoted to Bernward's death and canonization—the actual date of the latter is established as December 19, 1192, which was the Saturday before Christmas (p. 214, n. 59). Throughout the volume many bits of information are introduced as illuminating incidents or as embellishments of the background against which the figure of Bernward is cast into better relief. Thus is constructed a fair appreciation of the times in which Bernward lived. The development of the antecedents of the investiture conflict is clearly restated.

Misprints are few in number: read Publikationen for Publicationen (p. 5, n. 17); Fuldenses for Fuldensis (p. 9, n. 10); Holzkirchen for Holtzkirchen (p. 12, n. 20); französischer for französischen (p. 39, n. 14); Gemahlin for Gemählin (p. 42, n. 4 and p. 47, n. 23); vindicis for vindici (p. 104, n. 12); Praxis for Praxiz (p. 105, n. 15); Des hl. Bischof Bernwards Grabstein (p. 208, n. 38 and p. 209, n. 42); cloisonné and émail, both used twice on p. 117, should have been italicized and the latter also accented.

The following minor slips might also be noted: the dates of Diethard's episcopate are 928-954 (p. 154); Schnürer's *Erzbischof Pilgrim von Köln* appeared at Münster, 1883 (p. 198, n. 44); Pope Stephen VI (p. 201, n. 4) is commonly counted as Stephen V., as is done on page 13, note 26. The indulgence of the anti-pope Benedict XIV must have been granted in 1424, not 1494 (p. 220). The sentence, "The income . . . from tithes . . . accrued to the Church only in theory" (p. 82) is not in agreement with the later statement, ". . . they [the tithes] yielded . . . a considerable part of the diocesan revenues" (pp. 82-83). How the Cluniac reform wrought the undoing of Gregory VII and his successors in the Papacy (p. 40) needs elucidation. This reform rather enhanced the position of the Papacy because the popes endorsed the reform and by means of it were able to vindicate successfully the Church's rights against imperial encroachments. The absence of a formal bibliography is regrettable.

Despite these minor defects, we are grateful to Professor Tschan for this systematic treatment of St. Bernward and, as far as the reviewer knows, for the only work in English on this subject. We shall look forward with expectation to the second volume promised by the author.

GEORGE J. UNDREINER

Pontifical College Josephinum

The Art of Dying Well. The Development of the Ars Moriendi. By Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor. (New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. x, 258. $2.50.)

In the *Art of Dying Well* Sister Mary Catharine presents a study of the literary history and traditions, together with a convenient census of the manuscripts and editions, both xylographic and typographic, of one of the most popular of fifteenth-century conduct books, the "Christian's complete and intelligent guide to the business of dying." Obviously intended for the use of the laity in the days when famine, plagues, and the constant petty wars of feudal anarchy made sudden and unprovided death a household phenomenon, the *Art of Dying Well* is a practical handbook for the use of the dying man (to be studied, of course, during his life time) and for the use of his friends, evidently in the absence of priestly ministrations. It has come down to us in two related versions, the *Tractatus bene moriendi* or *Speculum artis bene moriendi* in five sections, known in English as the *Crafte of Dyeing*, and the shorter text usually referred to as the *Ars moriendi*. Previous scholars, for the most part bibliographers, have argued for the priority of the shorter text, looking on the *Tractatus* as a development from or an elaboration of the *Ars moriendi*. Sister Catharine argues very cogently for the priority of the *Tractatus*, pointing out that the *Ars* is most probably an adaptation of the longer work to the necessary brevity of the texts needed to accompany the block prints of the xylographic editions. In support of her argument she calls attention to the scarcity and inferiority of the manuscripts of the *Ars* as compared with the numerous and superior manuscripts of the *Tractatus*, to the dramatic superiority of of the shorter text, and particularly to the close relation between the text of the *Ars moriendi* and the illustrations which it accompanies.

In the light of the author's research into its literary history, the *Art of Dying* takes its place among the many conduct books of the later Middle Ages, such as the various and varied *Specula* of the *ars vivendi* type on "how to lead the good life" and the *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* or *libri de Pater Noster* on "how to receive the sacrament", particularly the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist. The *Art of Dying* seems to have emerged later than its companion guides and to have been a development of the chapters on death included in both of the more comprehensive treatises. Sister Catharine has noted sources and influences in the liturgy, the writings of the Fathers, the chapter on death in Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* and especially in Jean Gerson's *Opusculum tripartitum*. If her conjecture as to the identity of the *Opusculum* is correct, we have not only a *terminus a quo* (1408) for the dating of the *Art of Dying*, but also substantial evidence for its origin in Swabia or Bavaria. The authorship is still conjectural; the treatise has been variously attributed to the Brothers of the Common Life, to the Carthusians, and to the Dominicans.

Sister Catharine, while rejecting all particular attributions such as those to Gerson, Denis the Carthusian, and Dominicus Capricanus, finds that the evidence at present available points to a Dominican origin.

The census of manuscripts gives support to the case for the origin of the *Art of Dying* in Germany. Sister Catharine's search of the catalogues of European, English, and American libraries and other bibliographical aids reveals that the great majority are preserved in the German Reich and that many others elsewhere deposited are of German origin. With a few exceptions the manuscripts preserve the text of the *Tractatus*. The xylographic editions, on the other hand, with their customary eleven block print illustrations, preserve the shorter text of the *Ars moriendi*. The chief interest in the xylographic editions is not in the text but in the illustrations. In her discussion of the wood-cuts, of which there are twenty-one printings from thirteen different sets of blocks, Sister Catharine follows Schreiber's classification and accepts Dr. Max Lehr's theory that most of the cuts of the *Ars moriendi* derive from the line drawings of the "Master ES", an engraver who flourished about 1455 in the Rhine district.

The material presented in the final section of the monograph on the works in the tradition of the *Art of Dying* is by its very nature admittedly scattered and incomplete. Enough evidence is presented to indicate the survival of the tradition through and beyond the Protestant Revolt, but no attempt is made to present a final analysis. That would be matter for another monograph. The evidence Sister Catharine has gathered, however, is of great interest and importance to the student of the Renaissance conduct books and of Renaissance tracts and sermons, especially the great body of "holy dying" literature.

In the *Art of Dying* Sister Catharine has laid the indispensable ground work for further research in the tradition of the treatises on death. Much yet remains to be done. It is hoped that the author will continue to build on her own foundation. In any event, the present work is an invaluable aid to those interested in the treatises themselves and to the greater number concerned with the mediaeval attitude toward death. One of the most interesting and important aspects of the *Ars moriendi* and of its longer companion the *Tractatus*, lies in the straightforward and practical approach to the problem of dying and in the complete absence of morbid physical details. The dying man, or better the foresighted living man preparing to die, is vividly and candidly forewarned against the temptations common to the dying—unbelief, despair, impatience, vainglory, and avarice —but the opposing virtues are presented and the remedies given. The emphasis is on hope, on salvation through the incarnation and the communion of saints, and on the promised destiny of the Christian soul: *habitatio tua in Jerusalem coelesti . . . per eundem dominum nostrum. Amen.*

SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS

The Catholic University of America

MODERN HISTORY

Elizabeth: Creature of Circumstance. By Hilaire Belloc. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1942. Pp. vi, 258. $2.75.)

The title, *Elizabethan Commentary,* under which this book was published in England is much more apt than its American name, *Elizabeth: Creature of Circumstance.* It is neither a biography nor a history, but a series of discussions of Queen Elizabeth and of the personages and movements of her reign. The work has many good points. There are the finely drawn portraits and characterizations of Elizabeth, Lord Cecil, Thomas Seymour, and Henry VIII. The treatment of the Marian persecutions, the Casket Letters, and the Armada is sensible and well done. The central idea, that the success and permanence of the English Protestant Revolt depended largely on the destruction of the monasteries and the acquisition of the loot thereof by the new plutocracy, is correct and is rightly insisted on. The importance to the English religious revolt of the rising tide of nationalism is also properly indicated. There are many worthwhile ideas in the chapter on torture, although the chapter itself is protracted and not all to the point.

The work, however, suffers from many defects. There are too many inaccurate and incorrect statements, arbitrary judgments, and sweeping generalizations. And for such assertions, often startling and quite opposed to accepted views, there is no effort made to give any documentary authority. It is not true that Katherine of Aragon was a "Fleming in all her main physical strain, a true daughter of the Burgundian heritage". She had not a drop of Flemish blood in her and her only connection with the Burgundian heritage was that her sister Juana had married Philip, the son of Mary of Burgundy. It is not correct that a Hapsburg emperor ruled over Portugal, nor is it so that the French monarchy was the central political institution of Christendom from the early Middle Ages onward for hundreds of years. One may certainly assert that the diversities of Protestantism were quite as great, if not greater, on the continent as in England. It is rather astonishing to read the boast of Cecil—that no man in Elizabeth's reign suffered for his religion—characterized as "essentially true" and "objectively exact". Was the annulment of marriages among princes "common enough" in the dying Middle Ages? Where is the proof? The author seems to portray the English people as indifferent to doctrines of faith, except in regard to the Mass, and their loyalty here as a sort of matter of custom. One would like to see the documentary evidence. The account of the survival of the remnant of Catholicism is not satisfactory. By no means were the Jesuits the only ones after the collapse of the northern revolt who actively defended the old faith. One looks in vain for any

reference to contemporary Ireland, where Shane O'Neil, the Geraldines, and the Northern Earls caused Elizabeth and Cecil many an anxious hour and forged the defeat of their religious policy among the Irish. The author displays an unfortunate bias against the Germans; his slur on the German language is uncalled for. It is too bad that the many fine ideas in this work are delivered in apodictical and inaccurate fashion.

MARTIN P. HARNEY

Boston College.

A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715), with Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne. By William Thomas Morgan, Professor of European History, Indiana University, and Chloe Siner Morgan. (Bloomington: Indiana University. Vol. I. 1934. Pp. xvii, 524. $4.00; Vol. II. 1937. Pp. x, 684. $6.00; Vol. III. 1939. Pp. viii, 705. $8.00; Vol. IV. 1941. Pp. xi, 381. $6.00; Vol. V, 1942. Pp. xiv, 487. $7.00.)

"It is a long journey that has no end; yet at times the authors feared themselves to be launched upon such a journey, as this book, which was expected to fill a single large volume, slowly but inevitably expanded into five. Our relief as we end this final volume cannot be entirely different from that experienced by Columbus at the sight of land birds and a green branch from the new world. The end of the voyage at last! Now that the task is completed, we are glad to have done it; yet, had we foreseen at the beginning the long years of drudgery and sacrifice ahead—more than a third of the allotted 'Three score years and ten'—we should, perhaps have lacked the courage to begin." This justifiable sigh of relief from Professor and Mrs. Morgan is found in the Preface to the fifth and last volume of the bibliography which they had the courage and stamina to bring to completion.

The appreciation of historians and librarians will grow as they realize through use the full serviceableness of this result of the Morgans' scholarly labors. There will be little excuse for students of the great sixteen years of England's rise to first place among the powers of Europe not to know where to find all the material they need.

"With a few exceptions," says Professor Morgan in the first volume, "all the more important libraries and archival collections have been drawn upon in America, and in Central and Western Europe." Intended principally as a work of reference for students and scholars in the fields of English history and literature, it grew into a comprehensive bibliographical project. The reader is warned, however, that the work is weak in a number of particulars. "Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are little worlds of their own, and have been dealt with somewhat incidentally"; religious history

and the history of science, both of which are very significant, have been given much less space than they deserve; and local history, genealogy, and heraldry have been almost entirely neglected, as belonging to fields of their own.

The first volume, after some thirty valuable pages treating bibliographical aids, and a list of pertinent works published before 1700, is entirely devoted to pamphlets and memoirs published between 1700 and 1707. "Memoirs" is used to include all contemporaneous materials not classified as pamphlets, correspondence, autobiographies, diaries, journals, or plays. Publications of each year constitute a section, and items are listed under surnames of authors, with cross references under titles. A brief introduction prefaces each section. In addition to the usual collation, the compiler frequently supplies a line indicating the bearing or importance of the work, and occasionally a lengthier discussion when there is some dispute or problem concerning the item. The second volume, covering the years 1708-1715, lists some 5,700 items, nearly all bearing on issues of the period, political, religious, and economic. The flood of pamphlets and tracts during this time, many of the authors and publishers being anonymous, make the bibliographers' task almost hopeless. There are bound to be faults in the identification of editions and in the collation of versions of the same work.

Volume III contains the following groups of historical materials: (1) sources published in 1717 and later; (2) correspondence, autobiographies, diaries, and journals; (3) periodicals, including newspapers and annuals; (4) plays and dramatic works; and (5) secondary materials. The fourth volume lists the wealth of unpublished materials which were drawn in great part from British and French archives. But tireless searching in Dutch, Prussian, Hanoverian, Austrian, Savoyard, Danish, Scottish, Irish, and Canadian archives, as well as the more famous libraries and collections of Europe and America, all yielded material. The fifth volume is devoted to corrigenda, supplements, appendices, and a comprehensive Index. The last item is of special value in facilitating the use of the whole work. Without the Index it would be difficult to find material in the chronological arrangement unless the user knew the publication date of the work for which he was searching.

A real debt of gratitude is owed by historians and bibliographers not only to Professor Morgan and to Mrs. Morgan, who assisted him particularly in the compilation of Volumes II, III, and V, but also to many other contributing scholars, and to the American Council of Learned Societies and to the Social Science Research Council for the grants-in-aid which made the work possible.

JAMES J. KORTENDICK

The Catholic University of America

The Revolutionary Committees in the Departments of France, 1793-1794. By John Black Sirich. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 238. $2.50.)

The author of this monograph aspired to do for the revolutionary committees in France in 1793-1794 what Professor Crane Brinton did for the Jacobin Clubs or what Mr. Donald Greer did for the victims of the Terror. It must be stated with regret that he has not fulfilled his ambition. This failure is one of method rather than material. It is not to be expected that every monograph will bring forth new facts. But it is to be expected that its facts will be supported by the evidence, or at least that it will make manifest the materials upon which its conclusions are built. Proving the obvious is the chief activity of the social and natural sciences. While most of Mr. Sirich's generalizations are obvious, they are merely illustrated and almost never proved. In most cases they could have been proved only by quantitative evidence and we are given almost no materials of this kind. The impression the reader receives is that the study is based on random and inconclusive sampling.

For example, the author says that the members of the committees were *sans-culottes:* in the cities, chiefly artisans and workingmen (p. 58). This is what would be expected, but to prove it calls for quantitative methods. Instead the author gives us the composition of three committees (why these particular three? was it because they were the only lists available in secondary works?). Not only is this sample too small, but it does not support the generalization: of a total of thirty-three members, the occupations of thirty are known, and only eighteen of these are clearly workingmen. This is not more than the proportion which chance might give from the local population. Moreover, the author says that three frequent occupations are barber, innkeeper, and saloon-keeper. This may be true, but of the thirty-three he lists none is a member of any of these three vocations. Priests, he says, are "occasionally encountered", but in his list two of thirty-three (or 6%) are ex-priests. This is three times the ratio of clergy to the whole population. He speaks of the patriotic ardor of the city committees and the complete lack of interest of those in the country which, he says, were under the influence of larger landowners. But the author does not contrast the two, prove any part of these statements, or explain how the difference arose.

Again, in regard to the activities of these committees in the food crisis, the author gives us in Chapter XI a number of conclusions which are just what we might expect. But the evidence in most cases seems inconclusive. Nor are the conclusions and the evidence always in accord. We are told that the committees were vigorous in their efforts to prevent hoarding (p. 157), then that the registers carry few notices of seizures and that the

registers of the smaller communes "are almost devoid of activity" (p. 158). Here as elsewhere too much reliance is placed on unproved assumptions: "The fear of the committees and the penalties for hoarding must have served their purpose in many cases" (p. 157), although the author has just informed us that neither of these sanctions was effective in enforcing the maximum. In this whole chapter the only statement which gives us any concrete impression, because it is the only quantitative one, is that the records of 200 committees show no effort to enforce the maximum on salaries (p. 157). That is something, but does this mean that the rest of this chapter and, for that matter, the rest of the book, is based on 200 committees? If so, why not say so?

Mr. Sirich is conscious of the above criticism but dismisses it as the carping of a "hundred percenter" (p. 7). One does not have to be a perfectionist to feel that his time would have been better spent on a solid and quantitative study of five or ten committees instead of a random sampling of the records of 200 out of the existing 3605.

CARROLL QUIGLEY

Georgetown University

Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea. Edited by Shane Leslie. (London: Burns Oates. 1942. Pp. xxiii, 453. 18s.)

This unusual volume, embodying the Victorian spirit at its best, contains the letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, to Lady Herbert of Lea, widow of Sidney Herbert, the Crimean War Secretary. The first letter is dated January 13, 1867, and the last, a few months before his death, March 22, 1903. Unfortunately Cardinal Vaughan appears to have destroyed the hundreds of letters that Lady Herbert must have written him. To find a parallel to this extraordinary friendship we must go back to the days of St. Jerome and St. Paula.

Herbert Vaughan founded Mill Hill, the great foreign missionary college dedicated to St. Joseph, with one student and one professor, he being the professor. That such a daring undertaking survived at all was due not only to his magnificent enterprise but to Lady Herbert's unflagging interest, sympathy, and generosity. She beggared herself that Negroes in the United States might have the gospel preached to them, that the dynamic message of Christ might be brought to the natives of Borneo and Uganda. Late in life Cardinal Vaughan built Westminster Cathedral. It is his monument. Yet he wrote Lady Herbert: "I have received in money and promises nearly one thousand pounds, thanks to your activity." She, too, deserves to be remembered.

In one of his early letters Vaughan exclaimed: "What a comfort this is to *épancher mon coeur* on one who feels and understands! Hitherto it has

been all locked up from force of circumstances." He speaks of his plans and foundations, his trials and disappointments, his misgivings. He advises, consoles, jests, remonstrates, preaches. In very truth, he writes out of the abundance of his heart, and in so doing adds many revealing chapters to his own biography.

Yet the whole purpose of the correspondence was that, "we may help one another to Heaven like brother and sister." In his letters the Cardinal reveals the entire life of the masterful and saintly woman who was referred to at times, humorously, as his coadjutrix. Lady Herbert, a convert, was the mother of seven children; but only one daughter became a Catholic. The other children were legally separated from her and were carefully brought up in the Church of England as wards in chancery. This personal sorrow, however, was in no wise permitted to interfere with her splendid apostolate.

Herbert Vaughan's letters, in the last decade of his life, were quite brief—a mere line or two. "It is a pleasant feeling that of coming towards the end of a long journey," he confessed, "especially when the end is not some station in a foreign land but home, where all one's real family are gathered together and are waiting for you." Lady Herbert, ten years his senior, survived him eight years.

The book is a valuable addition to the literature of the Catholic revival in Victorian England.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776. By Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Ph.D., Professor of History, Lincoln University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 404. $4.50.)

A volume on the Negro in New England has long been wanted by scholars. As an estimated minority of 16,034 in a total population of 659,446 in 1775, the contrast between his treatment there and in the plantation colonies was certain to be revealing. Although the title has the date 1776, the author has carried his account through the first federal census of 1790.

Dr. Greene has broken his material into logical chapters which sharply focus attention on particular aspects of Negro life. "The Slave Before the Law," "The Slave Family," "The Free Negro," "Slavery and Conversion," and "Slave Occupations," are among the topics thoroughly developed. The work is detached and free from racial bias or bitterness.

More than elsewhere in the English colonies, the Negro was a member of the family, treated like a white indentured servant. His food, housing, clothing, and training were all on an equality with that of the white ser-

vant, as far as could be provided under a system of slavery. He often ate at the table with the white family, slept in the same house, went to the same church, and was trained at the forge or the bench with white apprentices. Careful management was possible because the head of the New England family was master of the life of the household. The integration of the Negro into this family necessitated no new customs. Likewise, the laws of each colony made such detailed provision for the public conduct of all members of the community that the black man usually received the same number of lashes as the white man for similar offenses. Leading clergymen or judges made a particular point of marrying Negro couples and gave much of their time to the intricacies of property problems of marriage when there were different owners of the pair.

It may not have been the conscious intention of the author to analyse Puritan society, but he gives one of the best delineations of the Puritan regime that exists in print. Here is a new way of seeing this society in action, confronted by a major problem over a period of a century and a half. In general a sympathetic view of New England life steals into the mind. There is both tolerance towards the Negro and determination to make Puritanism function according to its ideals.

The Bibliography is up to date and the various tables of the distribution of the Negro by colonies, counties, and cities are interesting.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

University of California
Los Angeles

The French Drama in America in the Eighteenth Century and Its Influence on the American Drama of that Period, 1701-1800. By Lewis P. Waldo. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 269. $3.50.)

This able work is published under the auspices of the Institut Français de Washington. The result of ten years of research, it was presented as a doctoral dissertation on May 20, 1940, and the author died a week later. The thesis thus remains a monument to the memory of a promising scholar. Fortunately it was in such a shape that it could be published as written.

It includes five studies: the French in America during the eighteenth century; the French drama in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; American adaptations of French plays in the eighteenth century; English adaptations of French plays on the American stage in the eighteenth century; and a study of French drama as presented in French in America during the eighteenth century. Among the Appendices are: lists of performances of English adaptations of French plays on the American stage in the eighteenth century, and a list of plays produced in French in eighteenth century America.

Mr. Waldo concluded that, while both French comedies and tragedies were produced in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by amateur groups at regimental theatricals and in colleges, there is no evidence to prove that French drama came from Canada to the United States. Rather, it came in two ways: through English adaptations of French plays especially from 1750 on, and directly in French through local French theatre groups, more especially in Charleston and New Orleans.

The French plays which were performed in English adaptations were: Racine's Andromaque; Corneille's Horace and Le Menteur; Molière's L'Avare, Le Médecin malgré lui, Le Sicilien, Le Mariage forcé, Don Juan, Le Cocu imaginaire, Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, L'Ecole des Femmes, George Dandin; Voltaire's L'Orphelin de la Chine, L'Ecossaise, Zaïre, L'Indiscret, Mahomet; Regnard's Le Retour imprévu, Le Légataire universel; Le Sage's Crispin rival de son maitre; Beaumarchais' Le Barbier de Séville, Le Mariage de Figaro; Destouches' L'Irrésolu, Le Philosophe marié, Le Dissipateur, Le Glorieux, La Fausse Agnès, L'Amour usé; three versions of Diderot's Le Père de Famille; and one play by each of the following less known writers: Fontenelle, Fagan, Mme. de Genlis, Saint Foix, Pont-de Veyle, Chénier, La Harpe, Hauteroche, La Chapelle, de Falbaire, de Brueys, Lafont, de Moissy, Patrat, and Dumaniant.

The plays produced in French were all given in the last decade of the eighteenth century, mostly in Charleston, a few in Baltimore, and two in Philadelphia. One is also recorded in New Orleans, but the New Orleans record is largely missing. These include Molière's Le Dépit amoureux, Le Médecin malgré lui, Les Précieuses ridicules; Voltaire's Mahomet; Beaumarchais' Le Barbier de Séville and Eugénie, five plays of Dorvigny, two of Patrat and of Robineau, and one of Chamfort, Favart, de Ferrières, Florian, Gabiot, Guillemain, Hauteroche, Landrin, Le Blanc de Villeneuve, Pigault-Lebrun, de Pompigny, and Saurin.

Among the author's further conclusions may be noted: Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Charleston became French centers largely because of Huguenot immigration. In most cases the adaptations are practically translations, though there is a tendency to soften serious endings by happier solutions. New York and New England saw practically no plays given in French, Philadelphia only two, Baltimore had ten, but Charleston, with forty-one, was really the one great center of known production, thanks to its permanent French theatre under the direction of Alexander Placide. Its most active period was the winter of 1794-95, and the summer of 1795. As to adaptations, forty-nine were recorded with a total of over 800 representations, most of them in Charleston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, many in New York, and a few in Annapolis, Alexandria, Boston, Hartford, Newport, Providence, Frederick, Salem, Albany, Portland, Williamsburg, a lone production of Corneille's Horace being recorded at Harvard on June 22,

1758. The greatest number of English adaptations flourished in the last decade of the century, while simultaneously plays in French were given particularly in Charleston.

There are twelve pages of Bibliography, including data on all the plays performed, and a listing of the newspapers through which the performances were traced. The thesis is factual throughout and is a fine example of painstaking research. It leaves one hoping that more can be done to recover the history of the French theatre in New Orleans; and, as the author himself suggested, that further studies may be made to show how these French activities shaped the course of the American drama in the following century. It also leaves one sincerely regretting that the author should have been called so soon from the field of scholarship.

LOUIS J. A. MERCIER

Harvard University

Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By Ellen Hart Smith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 340. $3.75.)

The new biographer of Charles Carroll makes the frank confession in her Preface: "I have written this book in a pleasant missionary glow" (p. ix). One need not read very far beyond her engagingly personal Preface to be aware that Miss Hart thoroughly liked Carroll, but her zeal for the Signer has not taken mastery over her sense of reality and the debt she owes her readers as a writer of solid history. Through the course of the first three chapters of this book the reader is given a splendid picture of the Carroll family from the arrival in Maryland of the Attorney-General in October, 1688 to the return of Charles of Carrollton from his European study in February, 1765. Not only do we see the Carrolls in this period of harsh penal legislation, but we have reviewed through their experiences the impossible political and social barriers which kept the Catholic population of the colony in subjection, a subjection from which only the Carroll fortune brought any relief to its members. Other Catholics, of course, were not so blessed with this world's goods as the Carrolls.

The able defense of popular liberties given by young Charles Carroll of Carrollton in his controversy with Daniel Dulany which ran in the columns of the *Maryland Gazette* beginning in January, 1773, over the signature of "First Citizen," marked Carroll for a man of unusual ability. It led quite naturally to his choice as a member of the colony's committee of correspondence in May, 1774, his first public post, and as the struggle with Great Britain deepened it was not surprising to find him in Philadelphia as one of Maryland's delegates to the Continental Congress in July, 1776. He had been urged to be a delegate to the first Congress but he refused since his colony had not up to that time seen fit to repeal its law against Cath-

olics serving in public office. But with that done in 1776 he entered gladly on the task. It is difficult to restrain one's enthusiasm for a man who was as noble an exemplar of public morale as was Carroll. He never filled a public trust that he did not handle its responsibilities with distinction and a high moral tone, and there was none of the cheapness in the man so often associated with politicians. As Miss Smith says: "He was the rarest of all human accidents, a born politician who was completely free from personal political ambition..." (p. 121). This integrity and high moral purpose drew praise from sources not kindly disposed to one of Mr. Carroll's religious faith. Even John Adams wrote of him to James Warren on February 18, 1776: "In the Cause of American Liberty his Zeal Fortitude and Perseverance have been so conspicuous that he is said to be marked out for peculiar Vengeance by the Friends of Administration; But he continues to hazard his all, his immense Fortune, the largest in America, and his Life. This Gentleman's Character, if I foresee aright, will hereafter make a greater Figure in America" (pp. 137-138). Adams was correct in his prophecy; Carroll's character did make him a greater figure in the more than sixty years vouchsafed him to enrich the American scene after he signed the Declaration of Independence. His stature had grown sufficiently by 1792 that the Federalist Party leaders, faced with the possibility of Washington's retirement from the presidency after his first term, were seriously thinking of running Carroll, and the suggestion made by James McHenry met the approval of Alexander Hamilton, the man who would play the leading role in naming the candidates (p. 246).

Miss Smith has devoted her biography in the main to the public career of Carroll and yet we get many glimpses of family life with Molly and the children at Doughregan Manor, the Annapolis house, and later in the Caton mansion in Baltimore. One might wish for more details on Carroll's relations with the Church and churchmen. For example, such details as the officiating clergyman at the marriage of Charles and Molly would help to fill in the picture (p. 185). We miss too his participation in the address of the American Catholics to President Washington of December, 1789, and the touching visit made by Archbishop Whitfield and the bishops of the first Provincial Council of Baltimore to the old gentleman on October 20, 1829, at the close of the Council. But we are told of his edifying Catholic death, for which he was prepared by Father John M. Chanche, S.S., later the first bishop of Natchez (pp. 310-311).

Occasionally the reader feels Miss Smith may be reading more into Carroll's part in events than her evidence allows, e.g., his statement on the Townshend Acts (pp. 93-94). Likewise there are a few minor slips such as the fact that Henry VIII "quickly" changed England from a Catholic to a Protestant country (p. 7). A sweeping statement such as the one that nine-tenths of the American merchants were smugglers in the 1770's needs

more subtantiation than "one historian declares" (p. 76). The Society of Jesus was suppressed twenty years by 1793 and therefore could not have been operating colleges in France at the time (p. 248). While one need not subscribe to the thesis of coolness between the Signer and Archbishop John Carroll, their relations were hardly on the plane of intimate friendship (p. 271). The Harvard University Press has produced a beautiful book and the proof-reading has been done with care. The reviewer noted only two or three minor slips, e.g., "winer" for "winter" (p. 90); "candadcy" for "candidacy" (p. 246), and a misplaced article "a" (p. 302).

The biography of Miss Smith deserves to rank as a first class piece of history, and it is written in a style that should attract readers beyond the circle of scholars and historians. It outranks Miss Rowland's biography of nearly a half century ago in charm of writing if it does not do so in richness of detail, and it is easily superior to the work of Joseph Gurn, published in 1932. The author has gone to the sources and she has used them with discrimination and judgment. Careful documentation, an adequate Index, a Bibliographical Note, and eight splendid Illustrations give the finished touch to this fine work. In the Bibliography we miss C. A. Barker's *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland.* The reviewer likewise noted no mention of any search made in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, but since they contain only a few letters of the Signer to Archbishops Carroll and Eccleston, perhaps the author did not find them worth her while. A reading of these letters would, however, give a further confirmation to Miss Smith's characterization of Carroll as just but not over-generous in money matters. In his letter to Archbishop Carroll of May 25, 1807, he laments the poverty of the Catholics living in the countryside near Bellevue and their inability to pay a fitting support to Father Duhamel, S.S., who was trying to care for their spiritual needs. One wonders why Carroll himself did not take care of the support of the priest. But in the three letters to Archbishop Eccleston in 1830 a more generous side is revealed in his donations of $50 to the orphans.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: First Series. *1825-38.* Edited by E. E. Rich. With an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society; Toronto: Champlain Society. 1941. Pp. cxxviii, 374, xi.)

This is the fourth volume in the series issued to subscribers by the aforesaid societies, and it carries forward the high standard set by its editor in the three previous volumes. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the Introduction, which may be described as a biography of Dr. John McLoughlin to 1838, makes obsolete all previous writings on him and corrects

as well many errors and over-statements in the treatment of Pacific Northwest history to date.

The scope of the volume is well indicated by the dates 1825-38; for, three years after the absorption of the North West Company in 1821 by the Hudson's Bay Company, McLoughlin was on his way across the mountains, and the transfer of the main depot in this region from Fort George (Fort Astoria) to Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the Columbia some ninety miles above its mouth, took place that winter, 1824-25. From this date, then, the Hudson's Bay Company was supreme in the land, since the North West Company had bought out Astor's Pacific Fur Company in 1813, and Dr. John McLoughlin was the chief factor of its Columbia department on the distant north Pacific coast.

But this company, a British concern, was shackled by the rights of the East India Company in the Far East and could not seize the main chance—direct trade with the fur emporium of the world: the Canton market. This handicap long preserved the coastal trade to the 'Bostons'; and the futility of the mercantile system can perhaps be no more graphically exposed than it was by a Captain Kelly, one of Josiah Marshall's traders, when he learned that the East India restrictions were still in effect. Said the captain, in the summer of 1825, upon meeting a Hudson's Bay Company brig off Skidegate Inlet:

> Ah very well as long as they remain we dont care for you, I am well satisfied if I barter my property for seventy-five p. Cent advance (p. 13).

Eight years later, however, no American ship appeared in the north Pacific "to spoil the trade" to the south of the Russian settlements (p. 145).

Inland, too, through the organization of Brigades of the Interior, McLoughlin pushed the trade of his principals: to the north as far as Fort Babine on the lake of the same name, to the south to the mouth of the Colorado at the head of the Gulf of California, and to the east to meet on their own ground the Americans on the Upper Green River, at their rendezvous near present Daniel, Wyoming. And an example of the doctor's business methods may be studied to advantage in his treatment of Wyeth, the interloper by land.

The Snake River Country was once rich in furs. Donald McKenzie had opened it in 1816 and Peter S. Ogden, for the Hudson's Bay Company, had charge of this brigade for six successive years. In his second season (1825-26), however, the Americans, from the east side of the mountains, caused him much trouble, and McLoughlin began to fear for the Middle Columbia "preserve". For its protection he determined to create a "fur desert" between Fort Walla Walla and the American rendezvous (pp. 256-57). Wyeth, consequently, was not able to make his post, Fort Hall, on the Snake, near the mouth of Portneuf, pay its way, and was forced to sell out to the Company in 1837. The whole procedure may be summed up ad-

mirably in the words which the doctor's chief assistant, James Douglas, addressed to him: "You calculate on his Expences Alone Ruining him" (p. 177). Nevertheless, McLoughlin was criticized both by Simpson and by the committee in London for not opposing Wyeth "vigourously" (p. 170); and this attitude by his superiors is an important lead to an understanding of his future actions.

There is much else to commend this volume to serious students of Pacific Northwest history. The Oregon boundary question, for example, receives considerable new light. Concerning this question, it has been generally stated that west of the Rockies Britain never contested the territory south of the Columbia. But Dr. Lamb shows that the term "south of the Columbia" had a wide meaning to Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company, i.e., the boundary should "follow in turn the Columbia, Snake, Salmon and Lemhi rivers" (pp. liv-lv) and reach the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass south of the 45th parallel in present Lemhi County, Idaho. There are also repeated references to the probable effects on the fortunes of the Company by the incoming Americans (p. 269). To Catholics the account of the first settlements in the valley of the Willamette by the retired *engagées* of the Company is highly informative and official. So, too, is it interesting to learn of the refusal of the Governor and committee, on the recommendation of Simpson, to permit Catholic missionaries to enter the Oregon Country before 1838. Viewed from the events at Waiilatpu nine years later, their fears were prophetic indeed!

The Introduction and the main body of McLoughlin letters are complemented by extracts from letters of the Governor and committee and of Simpson in the footnotes and by many other letters which are included in Appendix A. Appendix B is an excellent biographical supplement of the chief persons met with in the text. Included also in this volume is a reproduction of a part of the 1857 Arrowsmith Map of North America and of the well-known photograph of McLoughlin—The White Headed Eagle. The Index, however, has several noticeable omissions, and these are: Boundary, Cayuse, Freemen, Japanese, Southern Expedition, and Victoria, i.e., its future site which was "examined by Captain McNeill." One entry is not complete, viz., "Fever". These are minor shortcomings in a truly great book and are mentioned only to improve this useful aid to quick reference. This volume is certainly a testimonial to the devotion of the editor and to the optimism of the Company, for the date of publication is as of 1941. All students and readers of early Oregon history await the volume for 1942 (V), Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-74 and especially volume VI, McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 1838-1846, for which also the Introduction will be written by W. Kaye Lamb. When this volume appears a large body of materials for a critical biography of Dr. John McLoughlin will have been assembled, and the reviewer hopes Dr. Lamb will continue his researches and do this "Life".

Gonzaga University WILLIAM L. DAVIS

The Year of Decision: 1846. By Bernard DeVoto. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1943. Pp. xv, 538. $3.50.)

This is not a book for the academic historian; he will continue going to the same journals and narratives to which Mr. DeVoto has turned for much of his material. But it is definitely a book for the general reader ("I write for the nonexistent person called the general reader." p. ix), and of such readers Mr. DeVoto will have many—and deservedly so. For DeVoto has gotten hold of a good story and he has told it with much gusto and local color. Particularly in describing the emigration of 1846 through the Wyoming and Utah country is the author in his element.

The introductory chapter is not easy reading; Mr. DeVoto himself calls it "a first chapter of grievous weight." It is, however, a very stimulating and provocative one. But once the actors are on the stage, the action moves rapidly and climatically to its appointed finale. To this statement there is, the reviewer is constrained to say, one great exception. In this reviewer's opinion the space given to the Donners is entirely out of proportion to their importance to our national history. Mr. DeVoto himself sensed this and wrote by way of apology: "There is no point in devoting to the Donner party the space it receives in this book except as [*sic*] it provides one of the varieties of frontier experience" (p. 340). This self-criticism is valid, especially in view of the fact that George R. Stewart's *Ordeal by Hunger* came out in 1936 and the Hinkle's edition of McGlashan's *History of the Donner Party,* in 1940. DeVoto has not added anything to what these writers have said; to his credit he acknowledges his debt to Stewart.

Mr. DeVoto urges, and justly, the reading of Lewis H. Garrard's *Wah-To-Yah,* which he calls "one of the unacknowledged classics of our literature"; and he states that he has found three men conspicuously worthy of credence: "Jessy Quinn Thornton, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, and Philip St. G. Cooke". But there is no critical list of their works, by which the interested reader could guide himself to a further study of this interesting period in our history. And this neglect brings us to the chief defect in the book: it simply shrieks for an annotated bibliography. Time and again, the reader is left groping for the title of some author's work and for a brief notice of the use our author made of it. To mention one example. DeVoto says, "My text rests on only one Mormon historian, Brigham H. Roberts...." (p. 526) "by far the best Mormon historian" (p. 516), and he does well to bring this great scholar to the notice of his readers. But nowhere does DeVoto tell us that Roberts' monumental work in six volumes is entitled: *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Century I.* Nor does he seem to be acquainted with the works of Andrew Jensen or of Andrew Love Neff. Both these writers could have

been consulted with profit, and the latter's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Mormon Migration to Utah, 1830-1847, deserves to be brought to the notice of earnest students. It is certainly to be hoped that a future edition of *The Year of Decision* will include a complete bibliography.

Mr. DeVoto is occasionally given to categorical statements, whose demonstration would be quite difficult if not impossible. He writes (p. 63) that Ewing Young was a horsethief, and (p. 192) that "Colonel Ethan Hitchcock was the most intelligent officer in the highest ranks of the army." He is also given to extravagant remarks. Commenting on the Wilmot Proviso he writes (p. 299): "David Wilmot, safeguarding the conquests of his party's war President, had made A. Lincoln President of the United States." He departs the halls of Clio to enter the groves of the academicians when he states: "The power of religion and the fascination of psychology are that they try to explain character" (p. 340). And he is clearly in error when he says that "Father DeSmet . . . had spent a lifetime in the mountains . . ." (p. 452). Occasionally one meets vulgarisms in speech, and it is difficult to see what their contribution to the story is.

There is much else of good in this book of which space does not permit mention. Polk, Scott, Benton, Fremont and many other celebrities of that day play their respective roles. Texas and the Santa Fe and California Trails, the Mexican War and the Southwest have their place; but strange to say there are a few words only on the Oregon Country and almost none on the Oregon boundary settlement of June 15, 1846. All in all, this work is a competent study of Manifest Destiny, its chief agents, and its works in the years 1846-1847.

Finally, Mr. DeVoto has indeed put to good use his extensive and intimate knowledge of American literature in the 1840's. In this regard he is a model others might well imitate, and especially the young men and women who aspire to become writers of American history.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Gonzaga University

John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six. By James C. Malin. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 794. $5.00.)

Professor Malin of the University of Kansas has given us in this, his latest work, a scholarly and critical study in historical analysis. The John Brown legend, one of the major folk stories of the American people, is placed under the searchlight of a penetrating scrutiny of old and new evidence, thus throwing new interpretations on the character of the man and his role in the anti-slavery movement. What at first sight might appear to be another isolated study of the border state fanatic, the work does not confine itself to local history or narrow scope but rather in a national setting the various aspects of the legend are studied in a meticulous fashion.

The author states that he does not intend to write a biography of the man but rather to study the origins of the legend in the Kansas troubles of 1856. He does this by reviewing the contemporary world opinion of John Brown and of Kansas; by tracing the Kansas phase of the national hero-worship-martyr tale, restudying the Kansas troubles in the light of wholly new manuscript materials, and revaluating the role of the "Hero of Osawatomie". His aim, as outlined in the Preface, is "not to prove, to praise nor to condemn; it is to establish facts as objectively as possible and to contribute towards an understanding of the larger problem of human behavior." In this Professor Malin has succeeded.

The Pottawatomie murders have furnished the nucleus for the Brown legend. In these his part has been justified by his friends on the supposition that outrages had been committed against Free State men in the Pottawatomie community. Dr. Malin in an article, "The Hoogland Examination: The United States v. John Brown, Jr. et al," (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, VII, May, 1938), showed that conclusive evidence had been presented in that examination against such a justification.

At a time when emotions ran high, John Brown became a symbol. As Thoreau remarked, "He is not Old Brown any longer; he is an angel of light." There were three reactions to the man: that he was a criminal, an attitude taken generally throughout the South; that he was insane, the explanation of the anti-slavery element in the North especially of the Republican Party; and finally that he was a hero, the stand taken by the abolitionists. Each created a Brown to suit the occasion; therefore the characteristics ascribed to him depended upon the cause to which the fabricator was pledged. The abolitionists dramatized him in the role of a liberator to illustrate how right and freedom should triumph in their moral world. They claimed that they had no interest in the man, the human being, but that he interested them only as the fulfillment of their imaginary dream.

The crystallization of the legend was effected partly through falsification of the record and partly through accidental circumstances. The abolition of slavery came as a by-product of the Civil War but the friends of the Old Hero rationalized thus: slavery was abolished *because* of the Civil War; John Brown caused the war; therefore John Brown abolished slavery! The Civil War left in its wake a highly sentimental generation in want of a tangible token. It was a time when not only the United States but Europe as well was nearing the end of a cycle which brought about economic collapse, and the climax of the national unification movements in Italy, Germany, and the United States. A generation of frustrated youth found emotional outpourings in a cause or in a man. Many of the exponents of the John Brown legend were youths. It was American youth who took up the banner of the Old Hero as well as those of nationalism and abolitionism.

The interest attached to Brown is psychological rather than historical. An examination of the contemporary press before Harper's Ferry—the local pro-slavery press, the local free press, the official documents and the eastern press—shows that none gave Brown credit for much influence in the making or marring of Kansas history. In no place did he appear as a major force. It was after his exploits at Harper's Ferry that his friends elaborated on and fabricated his earlier career in Kansas. Early biographers were Redpath, Hinton, Hanway, and Sanborn—all contemporaries of Brown. Villard, Warren, and Wilson later wrote evaluations. The Villard volume was considered monumental at the time it appeared, the author being the first not of the old guard to attempt a major work on the subject. In the light of the present evidence the work shows many weaknesses, especially the fact that Villard did not examine the materials himself and that he did not submit them to historical canons. The author traces the treatment of the subject through the general and special histories of the period—Rhodes, Schouler, Burgess, T. C. Smith, Chadwick, Von Holst and the biographical sketch by Johnson in the *D.A.B.*

The book contains a good Index and a comprehensive Bibliographical Essay dealing largely with the manuscript materials which are used for the most part for the first time in this work. Most of these manuscripts are to be found in the library of the Kansas Historical Society at Topeka and the reviewer would not wish to terminate this review without a commendatory word concerning that well-organized library. The American Philosophical Society has chosen well in making *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* volume seventeen of its series.

SISTER M. EVANGELINE THOMAS

Marymount College
Salina, Kansas

John Bach McMaster, American Historian. By Eric F. Goldman. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 194. $2.00.)

Eric Goldman in this volume offers a critical study of the career and writings of Professor McMaster based upon letters, papers, a reading of his extensive output of books and essays—listed in the Appendix—contemporary reviews of his books, and reminiscences of his son, sister, colleagues, and students. He is sympathetic but sharply critical of McMaster's hit-and-miss research, faulty technique, lack of interpretation, conservatism, partisanship, class-consciousness, dependence on his predecessors to the point of plagiarism, failure to accredit earlier writers upon whom he leaned heavily, inaccurate quotations, heavy composition, obvious seizure of some of Macaulay's sentences, a slighting of economic forces, patronizing attitude toward immigrant peoples, a desire to please, and a lack of broad scholarship despite a prodigious memory and a remarkable range of infor-

mation. McMaster's contribution was the writing of a social history of the people between the Revolution and the Civil War based upon a broad survey of newspapers, pamphlets, memoirs, biographies, books of travel, letters, and local histories. In wars, constitutional questions, philosophy, and institutions, he was less interested than were his contemporaries. He tilled a neglected field. He wrote of the people rather than of politicians and campaigns. He chronicled the history of men, especially our Anglo-Saxon middle class, and hence he was read and probably glorified beyond his deserts, large as they were.

Dr. Goldman may be severe, but detached, critical, and thorough as he is, he has made a contribution to American historiography, even as he has written an instructive life of a nationally influential historian and of a worthy director of graduate students. Among his disciples were such remarkable workers in the field as Barker, Bolton, Cheyney, Corwin, Lindsay, Lingelbach, Oberholtzer, Paxson, Root, Shepherd, Sweet, and Van Tyne. Through the late Professor Charles H. McCarthy his influence permeated the teaching of American history at the Catholic University of America. Dedicated to his work, McMaster refused all calls, even to the presidency of the University of Illinois. To strengthen the department, he once sought to bring in Woodrow Wilson, whose refusal had no small effect on that professor's future career. McMaster was a wretched undergraduate teacher—unconcerned with written and quiz work, lecturing in a monotonous voice to the front benches with eyes cast to the floor, impersonal, smugly self-satisfied, impatient with dullness or doubts, a purveyor of facts from notes, and dogmatic in his righteousness. His mind was ever on his *History of the American People* as volume after volume appeared and won an increasing public which included political figures. With the eighth volume completed, he was honored by a testimonial dinner in Philadelphia (1913) which was attended or noticed by the leaders of the historical and literary world.

Despite his relatively large salary ($2,500 in 1883) and security of tenure, McMaster was thrifty and provident as became the son of a Scots trader. A graduate of public schools and of the Free Academy of New York (City College), a tutor in English, a surveyor at Winchester in connection with Sheridan's *Memoirs*, an unhappy teacher at Princeton with its then dour Calvinism, he had developed a business sense quite divorced from a specialized knowledge of economics, so he compiled *Bridge and Tunnel Centres* (1875) and *High Masonry Dams* (1876) and later wrote textbooks in history. There is nothing about his religious beliefs, but on his departure for the Wharton School he did write: "Left Princeton, Thank God forever". History as he wrote it for the schools sold well; for with annoyed amusement he aimed to meet the criticisms of prospective buyers whether Catholics who demanded some stress on worthies like Captain Barry,

Swedes who would promote Leif Ericson, Masons and Cleveland men who wanted something colored, and the Grand Army of the Republic with official views and axes to be ground. At any rate the American Book Company sold about 2,500,000 copies of the *School History, Primary History,* and *Brief History* in their combined, revised, and Spanish editions.

In addition to his monumental history he published an official biography of Stephen Girard (1918), a patriotic narrative of the *United States and the World War* (2 vols. 1918-20) from the daily papers, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution 1787-1788* (1888 edited with F. D. Stone), which is less valuable than its bulk might indicate, a *History of the People of the United States during the Lincoln Administration* (1927), which carries little weight, and many articles in newspapers and magazines. Never a great figure, McMaster toiled endlessly and sent forth page after page of content material for fifty years. And out of his books, students quarry notes —even those "historical grinds", debunkers, and economic interpreters, whom he despised as a Victorian should. While his epitaph was written in his books, this thoughtful critique carves it in the reader's mind.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

The Catholic University of America

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Compendium and Description of the West Indies. By Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 102. 1942. Pp. xii, 862. $2.50.)

To translate from the Spanish manuscript, found in the Vatican Archives, this voluminous treatise of Father Vásquez de Espinosa, called for exceptional courage and patience. Mr. Clark possessed both and the result is a contribution to science for which the translator deserves high praise and will undoubtedly find all those grateful to him who can appreciate the value of such a work and the time and labor it cost to produce it.

The author of the treatise, Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, was a Spanish Carmelite who spent some ten years in America, returning about 1622 to Spain, where he finished writing the treatise in 1629, a year before his death. The importance of his work lies in the fact that he visited nearly all the regions of Spanish America from Mexico City to Chiloé on the southeastern coast of Chile. He was, therefore, an eye witness of most of what he relates and evidently in the course of his travels had access to official reports concerning Church and State affairs as they obtained in Spanish America in his day. It should be noted that Father Vásquez takes the term "West Indies" to embrace all the New World possessions of Spain, including the Philippines, and not merely the Caribbean islands to which the term is restricted today.

The *Compendium and Description*, totalling 2059 numbered paragraphs, is divided into two parts, six books comprising the first, and five books the second part. The first part (pp. 1-300) deals with the viceroyalty of New Spain embracing the audiencias of Hispaniola, Mexico, Guadalajara, Guatemala, and the Philippines; while the second part (pp. 301-791) covers the viceroyalty of Peru apportioned into the audiencias of Panamá, Bogotá, Quito, Lima, and Charcas. It might be well to remind the reader that for the table of contents, which is not in its usual place, he will have to turn to pages 295-300 for the first part and to pages 785-791 for the second part.

The subject matter of the treatise ranges all the way from minute items on flora and fauna to the amount of ammunition needed to equip Morro Castle at Havana, from the salaries earned by the government officials in Chile to the revenues enjoyed by the dioceses in New Spain. Of special value are the lists and tables: namely, the entire section (pp. 278-295) in Part One under the heading "Secretariat of New Spain", and the three equally elaborate tabulations (pp. 457-470, 694-724, and 761-785) for the viceroyalty of Peru. These lists and tables reveal the vastness and wealth of Spain's overseas colonies, the remarkable progress made in every line of human endeavor, and the great sums expended by Spain to administer these colonies for the benefit of the people living there.

If anyone, judging from what has been said, concludes that the work of Father Vázquez is a dry and tedious recital of bare facts and figures, he is in for a pleasant surprise, for the work has a charm all its own by reason of the lively descriptions that make up the bulk of the volume. He tells us, for instance, how graduation exercises were held in the University of Lima, with its eighty doctors and masters. When describing the city of Puebla in Mexico he does not forget to mention Blessed Sebastian of Aparacio, the Franciscan lay brother, whose remains may still be viewed there in the side chapel of St. Francis Church. It is interesting to hear him relate how the Indians caught the whale and fed on its blubber, how in Guatemala he found a species of acorn out of which the people were fashioning inkwells, how they were making toothpicks from the wood of a certain tree in Chiapas, how in Peru the coca plant was to the Indians "what tobacco is for its devotees", adding that he considered "each of them a vice and an abuse, while admitting that used temperately and in moderation, they are wholesome." There are hundreds of such picturesque details and happy observations. To locate them one need only finger the excellent seventy-page Index (pp. 793-862), a thorough piece of work that fully serves its purpose.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

The Catholic University of America

Hispanic American Essays, a Memorial to James Alexander Robertson. Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 391. $5.00.)

This volume is a notable testimony to the memory of Dr. Robertson, whose death in March, 1939, was a serious loss to the development of Hispanic studies, both of the Philippines and of Ibero-America. Associates of Dr. Robertson, the authors represent an interesting and important sector of scholars—Rafael Altamira, Francis Borgia Steck, Philip Ainsworth Means, Charles E. Chapman, Madaline W. Nichols, William Whatley Pierson, Alfred B. Thomas, Arthur S. Aiton, Isaac Joslin Cox, Irene A. Wright, A. J. Hanna, Lillian E. Fisher, J. Lloyd Mecham, J. Fred Rippy, Chester Lloyd Jones, Percy Alvin Martin, Roscoe R. Hill, Lawrence F. Hill, and A. Curtis Wilgus. The last-named not only edits the volume but also contributes an essay on the life of Dr. Robertson and lists his published writings.

Variegated in character and quality, nine of the essays deal with the colonial era, and nine, with the era of independence, closing with a chapter on "Our Present Peril in Historical Perspective." The topics are selected at random rather than in the nature of a well-knit symposium, and the method of treatment ranges from unpublished documents, as in Altamira's "Contribution to the History of the Colonial Ideas of Spain", and research reports in Wright's "The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida", to bibliographical essays, like Father Steck's comprehensive "Early Mexican Literature", and biography, as represented by Means' chapter on Archbishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez de Compañón of Bujanda, Fisher's essay on Miguel Ramos Arizpe, and Rippy's on Justo Rufino Barrios.

Because of the variety of authorship, it is difficult to discover any dominant note or point of view. The contributions of the Church are noted sympathetically by Steck and Means in the chapters already mentioned. A rather confusing view is presented in Fisher's essay on that strange political priest, Ramos Arizpe. But, in general, comparatively little is made of the Catholic and Hispanic cultural forces except by passing reference.

To this reviewer, the volume lacks vitality. One has the feeling that the contributors are never far from their working papers; a sense of historical professionalism gives us a collection of labored reports rather than the interpretation of a living entity. Among the exceptions, however, may be mentioned Martin's "Sarmiento and New England", which offers a sympathetic and colorful picture of the Argentinian educator. Considerable vigor, as well as objectivity, is shown also in Rippy's study of Barrios. Hill's closing chapter abandons the apparatus of research and presents in

popular style the past and present of European ambitions in competition with the growing forces of Inter-American collaboration.

In spite of an understandable lack of cohesion in the volume, the memorial provides a number of important subjects and side-lights on Hispanic American development. Copious footnotes and references give a background for study, and the introductory essays on the life and writings of Dr. Robertson serve to make the volume a valuable index to the work of one of the outstanding Hispanic historians of our time.

JAMES A. MAGNER

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Executive Office of the American Catholic Historical Association regrets that no definite information can be given to the members concerning the annual meeting. Tentative arrangements are being made, however, to hold a two-day meeting in New York at the same time as the American Historical Association. The Committee on Program has made the preliminary plans for the joint session with the American Historical Association, and it is to be hoped that conditions will permit the convening of our regular Christmas-week gathering. The Executive Office hopes to present a more definite decision on this matter in the October issue of the REVIEW.

The Committee on Publications of the American Catholic Historical Association is happy to announce that through the generosity of the Bishops' Committee on Peace a sum of money has been made available which will insure publication of the second volume of the Association's Documents, viz., *The Instructions and Despatches of the United States Consuls to the Papal States, 1797-1870*. This volume will be edited by Leo F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, who prepared the first volume for publication. The Association takes this opportunity publicly to extend its gratitude to Archbishop Stritch and his Committee for making possible the completion of the important undertaking which was begun a decade ago with the publication of *The United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868* (Washington, 1933).

The regional meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association for the New York area was held on May 8 at the Hotel Commodore. The principal attendance was, as was to be expected, from New York City and environs. There were several members present, however, from Boston, New Haven, and Philadelphia. The principal speaker at the morning session was Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., of Fordham University, who read a paper on the subject, "Christendom and the Coming Peace." Father Walsh analyzed the concepts of the *sacerdotium*, *imperium*, and *studium* as developed in Dante's *De monarchia* and he urged the revival of the universality which lay behind these mediaeval concepts in the shaping of the coming peace. The paper was discussed by a panel consisting of Professor Eugene H. Byrne of Barnard College, who made a plea for the restudy of the fourteenth century as containing the germs of many of the troubles which have beset the modern world. Father Frederick J. Easterly, C.M., of St. John's

University, Brooklyn, and Professor Joseph H. Dahmus of the College of Mount Saint Vincent were the other members of the morning panel. Monsignor Philip J. Furlong of Cardinal Hayes High School presided at the morning session. The luncheon conference was addressed by Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University in a paper entitled, "Peace in Our Time," which drew some enlightening parallels between the crisis of our day and those of other troubled years since the French Revolution. Professor Hoffman warned against indulging in prophecies of what the post-war world may be like, and he gave examples of the embarrassment which may attend the historian when he loses sight of the function of his office and assumes the role of prophet. The Archbishop of New York was represented by Monsignor William A. Scully. The afternoon session had one major paper, "Liberalism and the Catholic Revival in England," by Professor Herbert C. F. Bell of Wesleyan University. In a splendid survey of the liberal creed and its relation to the question of Catholic liberties in mid-century Britain, Professor Bell made it clear that when it was a matter of the Church and the freedom granted to her ministers, there was not much difference between the Liberal Party and those who enrolled themselves under the conservative banner. The panel for the afternoon session consisted of the Reverend Joseph H. Brady of Seton Hall College and John J. Meng of Queens College. Miss Elizabeth M. Lynskey of Hunter College was scheduled to appear on this panel but, unfortunately, was unable to do so on account of illness. Monsignor John M. A. Fearns of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, presided. The day's program was arranged by the Reverend Thomas J. McMahon of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, and Professor James M. Eagan of the College of New Rochelle.

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the Academy of Political and Social Science was held in Philadelphia on April 9 and 10. The general topic was "The United Nations and the Future." A warning that cultural diversities must be recognized in the post-war world was sounded at the opening meeting by Ruth Benedict of Columbia University. She cautioned against forcing "Americanism" as it is generally understood on others of the United Nations group. This same note was repeated by Oscar Halecki, Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, as he outlined "The Part of Eastern Central Europe in Postwar Organization," and again by Edward Hambro, Secretary General of the World League of Norsemen, when he discussed "The Northern European Countries after this War."

The urgency of a planned peace was the high point of the third session. "What Should the United Nations Do Next"? Clark Eichelberger, Count Ferdinand Czernin, and Kinn Wei Shaw each stressed the importance of preparation for peace *now*. What good will military victory be if we lose the peace? Kinn Wei Shaw emphasized the needs of the United Nations—spiritual mobilization, mutual trust which would dispel suspicion

and develop unity. William Agar of Freedom House, discussed "International Co-operation or World War III". He struck a true Christian note, and, though he did not refer to it, he practically outlined the Pope's peace plan.

The meeting of the Academy closed with a discussion which featured the impassioned plea of Sir Norman Angell that we declare our united purpose and more, that we mean to follow through. The United States and Britain bear much of the responsibility for the present war because we did not follow through before. The World War could have been prevented had the nations of the world whose purpose is good declared and meant their intention to remain united against aggression. The American Catholic Historical Association was represented at the meeting by Sister Catherine Frances of the College of Chestnut Hill.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa on April 22-24, 1943. Among the papers of interest to readers of the REVIEW were "The Religious Ideas of Thomas Jefferson" by George H. Knoles of Stanford University, "Attitudes of American-Germans in World Wars I and II" by Carl Wittke of Oberlin College, and "The American-Irish and World War I" by W. J. McNiff of Miami University.

Richard J. Purcell gave a paper on "Father Mathew in the United States" before the annual meeting of the American-Irish Historical Society in New York. Professor Purcell is national historiographer of the organization.

The spring conference of the clergy of the diocese of Pittsburgh held on May 2 heard a paper on "The Centenary of the Pittsburgh Diocese" by Father John Canova, pastor of St. John the Baptist Church, Monaca, and archivist of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

Edited by Guy Stanton Ford, a fifty-nine page *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress, December 1941* has just been published as Volume III of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1941. It is on sale at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. The list contains dissertations and research projects in progress in the United States and Canada and includes a complete index. The editor warns that this will probably be the last *List* until normal conditions in the scholarly world are resumed after the war. It is to be hoped that there will be as little delay as possible in continuing the publication; it is invaluable to research workers in history.

Volume I of the same *Annual Report* contains besides the *Proceedings of the AHA for 1941* the edition of *Private Letters from the British Embassy*

in Washington to the Foreign Secretary Lord Granville, 1880-1885, prepared by Paul Knaplund and Carolyn M. Clewes, and a *List of Manuscript Accessions in Various Depositories in the United States Received during the Year 1940*, prepared by Margaret S. Eliot.

Bernard Mayo has edited the *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States 1791-1812*. It appears as Volume II of the *Annual Report* of the AHA for 1936. Grace Gardner Griffin, Dorothy M. Louraine, and Margaret K. Patterson have prepared *Writings on American History, 1937 and 1938* (Volume II of the *Annual Report* of the AHA for 1937). With its index the *Bibliography* contains 869 pages. All of these volumes of the *Reports* are available at the Government Printing Office.

Robert B. Downs, director of libraries of New York University, is compiler of a volume which will be of interest to all research workers. The title is *Resources of New York City Libraries: A Survey of Facilities for Advanced Study and Research*. (American Library Association, 1942). Most of the 400 libraries in New York City with their 16,500,000 volumes have been surveyed in the volume. The work is made more readily usable by the thirty-eight page Index with its listing of some 1500 subjects.

The Sterling Library of Yale University has been made the recipient of an extensive collection of original source materials for the history of western United States. It was presented by William Robertson Coe of New York, who collected it over a period of years with the advice of Edward Eberstadt, authority on western history. The collection contains a great deal of material on the Mormon settlement, the trade activities of John Jacob Astor, and as well various journals and records of early Spanish explorers along the Pacific coast. There is also an entire section devoted to what are called Louisiana Cession Documents.

In June, 1942, the *New York Times* made public a report which it had compiled on the teaching of American history in our colleges. It was found that American history was not a required subject in 82% of the colleges covered in the survey. The report caused a considerable amount of discussion and plans for remedying what was regarded as an unfortunate slighting of our national history in the schools. Following up on this report the *Times* in its issue of April 4 made known the results of a second survey. This time 7000 college freshmen from thirty-six colleges were tested on their knowledge of American history in twenty-two questions framed by Hugh Russell Fraser, chairman of the committee on American history, and Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University. The results would tend to show that the instruction given in secondary schools in American history is either not sufficient or it is not properly given. For example, 25% of the students examined did not know that Lincoln was Pres-

ident during the Civil War and 84% could not state two outstanding contributions made by Thomas Jefferson to the American republic. This second report is, then, confirming evidence of the situation which the *Times* wished to emphasize in its previous survey, namely, that the colleges of the United States should give greater emphasis to the teaching of American history in their curricula.

Repercussions continue to follow the findings of the *New York Times* survey on the state of history teaching in the country. In April, Hugh R. Fraser resigned as information officer of the Office of Education because of differences of opinion over American history instruction in the high schools. Later, the Committee on American History urged in Washington that freshman high school students get a full year of United States history instruction. The Committee stated that emphasis on "interpretations and trends before the simple events and personalities" is a "doubtful policy."

Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the United States Military Government of Cuba, 1898-1902, and the United States Provisional Government of Cuba, 1906-1909, compiled by Kenneth Munden and *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to Puerto Rico, 1898-1934,* compiled by Kenneth Munden and Milton Greenbaum, have recently been published by The National Archives as *Special Lists* to facilitate the study of problems of the administration of occupied territories.

The March, 1943, issue of *The State and Local History News* besides reporting current activities of the local historical societies, gives a brief paragraph to a proposed National War History Commission which grew out of a meeting of a group of historians in Washington on December 29, 1942. A committee was appointed to pursue the subject further and to do what it can to have this materialize as an independent Federal agency.

The April, 1943, issue of *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* is devoted to an article on "The Production of Local History Plays and Pageants," by Samuel Selden, associate professor of dramatic art in the University of North Carolina. Directions are given as to selection, the use of documents, and the preparation of the pageant. A Bibliography accompanies the article.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published a review of its work in a brochure entitled *Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943.* It was compiled under the direction of Professor R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina, who is chairman of the Commission. The present brochure will serve as an introduction to the materials available in the library, archives, and publication division of the Raleigh headquarters.

The calendaring of the Detroit Papers in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame has brought to light the original account of the death of William Blackbird or Maccatebinessi, the Ottawa Indian who died while studying for the priesthood at the Propaganda College in Rome on June 25, 1833. There have been several confused legends about the death of the youth and, because of the general silence concerning the incident, there has persisted a story that the young man was stabbed because of his determination to save his people from further spoliation of their lands by the whites. Julia Cooley Altrocchi in her novel *Wolves Against the Moon*, maintaining other differences from the historical account, implies that the young man was murdered for the same reason. Also, Chief Andrew J. Blackbird in his history of the Ottawa Indians makes more explicit charges that the youth, a relative, was stabbed because of his determination to protect his people. Father Chrysostom Verwyst, in preparing his life of Bishop Baraga, wrote to Rome about the incident and received an abstract of the original letter from the Prefect of the Propaganda to Bishop Rese of Detroit announcing the death. This letter was published in the appendix of his biography of Baraga. That document, the original of which has now been discovered, states that before coming to the seminary the young Indian had received a chest injury when he was run over by a wheel, apparently of a wagon. The bursting of an artery, injured in that accident, caused a weakness that resulted shortly in death. The original adds a sentence, however, that goes far towards explaining the secrecy surrounding the incident. Bishop Rese was asked to keep the incident quiet so that the parents of boys who were in Rome or were planning to go to Rome would not become alarmed. Another Indian student, Augustine Hamelin, likewise from the village of Arbre Croche, Michigan, failed to complete his studies because of ill health and returned to America in April, 1834.

The value of medicine as an ally of the missionary has been effectively proved by the modern Medical Missionaries. Little attention has been directed by historians to the use of medical service by the pioneer missionaries among the American Indians, although the *Jesuit Relations* and other accounts contain enough information on this topic for an interesting study. A document in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, dated January 19, 1834, granted to Father Adrian Van De Weyer, a Belgian Dominican working among the Indians in the diocese of Detroit, the right to practice medicine in his mission. Father Van De Weyer had been a physician before his ordination and seeing the need of medical aid among the Indians, had applied for this permission from the Sacred Congregation. In granting the permission the Congregation laid down two conditions. The first required that Father Van De Weyer be sufficiently skilled to exercise the practice of medicine, and the second that he demand nothing for his services.

In connection with the bicentennial of the birth of Thomas Jefferson on April 13, the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art have planned a joint memorial celebration and special exhibits. The National Gallery is featuring a collection of Jefferson portraits and architectural drawings, while the Library of Congress, with its largest single collection of Jefferson letters and manuscripts, is building its main exhibit around the theme of Jefferson as the author of the Declaration of Independence. Other exhibits, however, will include materials showing Jefferson as a map-maker, book-collector, and a cultivated patron of music, science, and invention. The Library of Congress has issued a handsome volume entitled *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text*. It contains facsimiles of the original documents exhibited at the Library. Julian P. Boyd describes the documents and traces the evolution of the text.

Willibald M. Plöchl of the Faculty of the School of Canon Law at the Catholic University of America contributes an article on "Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom" to the April number of *The Jurist*. Church historans will be interested in this careful study of Jefferson's great contribution to religious freedom. The statute was one of the three great accomplishments he listed in his epitaph.

Jacques Maritain writes nine columns in the *Commonweal* of May 7 on "Christianity and Democracy"—the substance of a Jefferson Day address. "In its essential principle, the form and ideal of democracy is inspired by the spirit of the Gospel and cannot subsist without it. . . . If the democracies are to win the peace after having won the war they will do so provided that the Christian inspiration and the democratic inspiration recognize each other and become reconciled." He proceeds to set forth "those thoughts and profound aspirations awakened in the depths of the conscience of peoples by the Christian message, . . . truths of evangelical origin which the secular conscience has . . . connected and identified with the very idea of civilization."

The Bishops' Committee on Peace has compiled a volume entitled *The Principles of Peace, from Pope Leo XIII to Pius XII*. This book, the first complete collection of papal pronouncements on peace, will shortly be available to the public. In connection with this announcement, it is interesting to note that the Twentieth-Century Fund, New York, has disclosed that at least 137 government and private agencies are engaged in research or public education on a national scale on post-war problems.

Quest of the Centuries: Peace is the title of the fourth annual volume of studies by the students of Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan. Its two dozen papers extend from "The Greeks and Arbitration" to "The Peace Popes of Our Century" and an Epilogue on "Essentials for Any Sound

Peace Plan." While the articles are necessarily brief, they are based on wide reading. The bibliography will be a rich quarry for those who have to talk or write about peace. The inspiration and skilled direction that lies back of the volume will not escape the reader.

The April, 1943 number of the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* contains an article by James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada, which was originally read as a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association at St. Hyacinthe on October 7, 1942. The title, "The Great Reaction," summarizes the theme of the paper, viz., that the present world conflict is "the greatest reaction in history against those Christian fundamentals which have marked, up until now, the progress of the human race."

The report that Benedetto Croce has returned to the Faith of his youth has been discredited by the *London Tablet*. It seems that the foundation for the report was an article, "Why We Must Call Ourselves Christians," which appeared in *La Critica*. An English translation appears in the May 1 and 8 issues of the *Tablet*. Though the article indicates a great change in Croce's attitude toward Christianity, he reveals again and again in its obscure verbosity that he is by no means disposed as yet to submit to the Church. He thinks that men can be "Christians outside any church, no less genuine than those that are within, and all the more intensely Christian for being free." But he seems to have a profound veneration for Christ, and his evident sincerity may win him the light necessary to find an end to his confused groping.

The issue of *Church History* for March publishes an excellent paper on Gregory the Great by Edwin Rochie Hardy, Jr., of General Theological Seminary, New York City. The paper, entitled, "Servant of the Servants of God," was read as the presidential address at the December meeting of The American Society of Church History.

Those who have desired to know more about William Short, who, though supplanted for the specific negotiations by William Pinckney, formulated at Madrid all the points of the treaty by which Spain conceded to the United States the use of the lower Mississippi, may consult "The Diplomatic Career of William Short," by Myrna Boyce in *The Journal of Modern History* for June.

The December, 1942, *Bulletin de L'Institut Français de Washington* contains two interesting documents, one a letter of Alexis de Tocqueville from Château de Baugy of June 19, 1836, written to Captain Basil Hall and dealing with several observations made by the writer on American affairs, particularly the state of religion in the United States. This letter is edited, with a short introduction, by Professor Gilbert Chinard. The second letter

is one of Marc Fivaz, a Swiss exile from the religious wars in his native country in 1845, who wrote an interesting account from Milford, Pennsylvania on August 11, 1849 to his friend Louis Vulliemin of Lausanne. It has to do chiefly with his travels through the eastern states and especially his commentaries on scenery and life in northern New York. The second letter has been edited by André Delattre.

Based in part upon archival material from the Sulpician Archives in Baltimore, Gabriel J. Naughten, O.F.M., contributes an interesting, brief article on "The Poor Clares in Georgetown" to *Franciscan Studies* for March, 1943. The principal sources employed were the translation of the diary of Father Babad, S.S., made by A. Boyer, S.S., and the diary kept by John M. Tessier, S.S. Babad helped these three unfortunate nuns to get from Havana to Baltimore in the spring of 1797, and Tessier assisted them during the interval between their arrival there and the opening of their school in Georgetown in September, 1798.

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* of Philadelphia for March, 1943, contain two studies which have been running serially and also a well-documented article on "Philadelphia's First Diocesan Synod, May 13-15, 1832," by Father Hugh J. Nolan.

Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the diocese of Syracuse, is the author of two recent articles. One is entitled, "Pioneer Catholic Seminaries in New York," which appeared in the April, 1943 issue of *New York History*. In it the author traces the abortive attempts made in the 1830's to open a seminary in the diocese of New York. Lasting success did not attend the efforts until the inauguration of St. Joseph's Seminary at Rose Hill under Bishop John Hughes in the next decade. The second article is an exposé of the legends which grew up around the discovery of a supposed sixteenth-century stone with a Spanish inscription near Pompey, New York. It appears in the April, 1943 issue of *Mid-America* under the title of "An Alleged Spanish Entrada into New York."

Two recent articles of interest to students of the history of the Church in the western country are "The French Villages of the Illinois Country," by Natalia Maree Belting of the University of Illinois in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March, 1943, and General Prather's "The Struggle for the Michigan Road," in the March, 1943 issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Miss Belting has used some unpublished material. Her summaries of population at different periods for the six French villages are useful. The highway built through Indiana in the decade of the 1830's carried many Catholic settlers to new homes in the future dioceses of Indianapolis and Fort Wayne and was the most important highway in the state next to the Old National Road.

The principal article of the December, 1942 number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is entitled "Missionaries from All Hallows (Dublin) to the United States, 1842-1865," written by Professor Richard J. Purcell. It tells the story of the heroic efforts of Father John Hand to get this missionary institution started in 1842 and the success which met his efforts in providing priestly aid to English-speaking missionary lands, especially the United States. Following the article proper is a series of biographical data on 103 All Hallows alumni who labored in various American dioceses in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The January, 1943 issue of *Mid-America* contains a well-documented article on "The Beginnings of the Society of Mary in Texas, 1852-1866" by Joseph W. Schmitz, S.M., professor of history in St. Mary's University, San Antonio. Brother Andrew Edel was chosen to open the mission upon the invitation of Bishop Odin.

The Archives of St. Vincent's Archabbey at Latrobe have yielded most of the material for the carefully documented article of Felix J. Fellner, O.S.B., on "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer as an Educator" which appeared in the *National Benedictine Educational Association Bulletin* for December, 1942. The approaching centenary of Abbot Boniface's arrival in America in 1946 gives added interest to this able study of Father Felix, for the abbot was the real founder of the Benedictine work in the United States.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for January, 1943 contained a seven-page review of an important source book for nineteenth-century Missouri Catholic and social history. The late Father Garraghan of Loyola University, Chicago, wrote the notice and in it he gave an evaluation of the work, *Life and Scenery in Missouri. Reminiscences of a Missionary Priest* by John Canon O'Hanlon (Dublin, 1890). Canon O'Hanlon spent a decade of years, 1843-1853, in Missouri as a priest, and his volume is of high value for its sketches of important Missouri churchmen and social events of those years. He left Missouri in 1853 and spent the remainder of his long life in his native Ireland, dying there in 1905. He returned for a brief visit to America in 1893 to attend the golden jubilee of Archbishop Kenrick's tenure of the see of St. Louis, a man with whom Canon O'Hanlon had been closely associated during his last years in America. O'Hanlon is remembered chiefly in the literary field for his twelve-volume work on the *Lives of the Irish Saints*.

The Franciscan province of the Assumption with headquarters at Pulaski, Wisconsin, has issued the first number of *The Chronicle*, which is to be published quarterly and cover the history and activities of this group of Polish Franciscans. Their original foundation was begun in April, 1887, with the blessing of Bishop Katzer of Green Bay. The erection of this jurisdiction to the status of a province dates from April 15, 1939.

William N. Bischoff, S.J., of Gonzaga University and Charles M. Gates of the University of Washington contribute an article of interest to our readers in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for April, 1943. It is entitled "The Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene Treaty of 1858," and to the narrative are appended nine hitherto unpublished documents concerning the relations of Father Joseph Joset, S.J., with the United States military officers in bringing the Indians to an agreement with the American authorities.

The Official Catholic Directory for 1943 shows that the Catholic population of the United States, Alaska, and Hawaii is 22,945,247. This represents an increase of 389,005 over 1942. In this increase, 86,905 were converts.

The John Murphy Company of Baltimore, which was the publisher for many Catholic books for a period of over a century, has discontinued business by reason of a series of deaths in the family. P. J. Kenedy & Sons of New York have taken over the business of the Murphy firm in so far as republication of some of its books is concerned.

The *Review of Politics* for April has in the footnotes to Waldemar Gurian's article, "The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia," convenient references to most of the worthwhile books on Soviet policy. The same issue contains a provocative essay by Peter Drucker, "The Meaning and Function of Economic Policy Today," which restates the ethical basis of politics for the benefit of economists. Historians may find the same sort of lesson prepared for them in "Hugo Grotius and the Scholastic Natural Law Tradition" by Anton Hermann Chroust, in *The New Scholasticism* for April.

St. Ansgar's Bulletin, now in its forty-first year, devotes its latest issue to the topic of Greenland. Sigrid Undset tells the strange story of the Viking Thorgils. The Reverend Lambert Erkins, S.M.A., relates Greenland's Catholic history.

The *Report, 1941-1942* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains the papers read at the annual meeting in October. They are listed in our Periodical Literature.

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at McMaster University in Hamilton on May 24-25. At one of the sessions four papers were devoted to the general theme of "Nationalism and French Canada". Two of the papers were by priest-professors of Laval University, namely Arthur Maheux's "Durham et la nationalité canadienne-française," and Arthur Potvin's "Papineau et l'orientation du nationalisme québecois."

The *Report of the Public Archives* of Canada for 1942, edited by Gustave Lanctot, gives the customary list of accessions, three documents on war rationing, control of prices, and a treaty concerning prisoners between Canada and the United States in the War of 1812. The Appendix continues the valuable calendar of the official correspondence of the governors and other officials of Canada for the years 1839-1841. The calendar has been running serially in the annual *Reports* for some time, covering the period from 1760 down to 1841.

Le Canada Français for March, 1943, has several items of interest to historians. One is Hector Garneau's introduction to the new edition of his grandfather's famous *Histoire du Canada*. The second is a series of letters of Abbé Casgrain to Francis Parkman. These five letters were written between March 23, 1866 and March 6, 1867 and are to be followed by others. They have been edited by Professor Arthur Maheux of Laval University from photostats of the originals in the Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The May number of *Le Canada Français* has as its leading article "Le Catholicisme et la culture hispano-américaine" by Richard Pattee, President of the American Catholic Historical Association. The same issue also contains the first installment of an article on "L'Abbé Hospice-Antelme Verreau," Canadian historian of the last century. It is written by Abbé Armand Yon.

The National Library of Lima, Peru, was destroyed by flames on May 10, 1943. According to unofficial reports received from Peru about ninety per cent of the collection was lost, both books and manuscripts being included in the destruction. Of the latter over 40,000 perished. Peruvian culture, and in particular, Peruvian historiography, will not easily recover from the unparalleled disaster.

The Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs has issued a *Guide to the Inter-American Cultural Programs of Non-Government Agencies in the United States*, which will be useful for locating organizations whose activities and publications are directed toward Latin America. The same office has prepared a lithographic pamphlet, *The Inter-American Movement. An Outline.*

A new publication of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies made its appearance in April under the title *Notes on Latin American Studies*. It will be published semi-annually and has as its purpose "to give integration to Latin American studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences and provide a medium for consideration of problems of teaching and research." The initial number contains notes on personnel and activities in Latin American studies at twenty universities in the United States. The editor is Ralph L. Beals of the Smithsonian Institution.

The murals which Cândido Portinari, the Brazilian painter, did for the Library of Congress, and which decorate the entrance to the Hispanic Foundation, are described at length by Robert C. Smith, director of the Foundation, in an attractive pamphlet entitled *Murals by Cândido Portinari in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1943).

Dr. Smith has also published two articles, both lavishly illustrated, of the four historically-important portraits of the Brazilian imperial children (the future Dom Pedro II and three of his sisters) which hang in the Lima Library, The Catholic University of America. The first, "Meninos Imperials," appeared in the November, 1942, number of *Sombra* (Rio de Janeiro), an issue devoted to the marriage of the Brazilian princess Dona Maria Francisca to the pretender to the throne of Portugal. The second article, "The Imperial Family of Brazil in 1831," was published in the February, 1943 number of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (New York).

From the estate of the late Flora de Oliveira Lima, the Lima Library has received the voluminous correspondence, numbering several thousand items, of the distinguished Brazilian diplomat and writer, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, whose death occurred in Washington in 1928. The correspondence covers the years 1884-1928, and forms one of the largest collections of Brazilian manuscript materials to be found in any American library.

A second edition of the Reverend Dr. Edwin Ryan's *The Church in the South American Republics* (The Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Maryland), has appeared. While this slender volume does not attempt to treat the subject exhaustively, it will prove useful to those who wish to have a general picture of Ibero-American Church history.

At the request of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs of the United States Office of Education, Marquette University is conducting a work-shop for training teachers of the seventh to twelfth grades in a better understanding of the desired relations between the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The approach will be through geography, history, literature, and visual aids. The Office of Education has supplied some interesting exhibits and expects to send some South American students who are in this country on Inter-American scholarships to take the course.

The School of Inter-American Affairs at the University of New Mexico has begun a new series of publications, entitled: *Inter-Americana Series*. It will deal with Latin-America and the Southwest of the United States. The general editor is J. Ortega. Publications are planned to appear in five sections: Short Papers; Studies; Documentary Sources; Inter-Amer-

ican Translations; and Miscellanea. The first volume to appear is *Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture* by Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell. (Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1942. Pp. xv, 245. $3.50.)

The American Anthropological Association has published No. 60 in the Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association. It is entitled: *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*. The author is Leslie A. White. This volume, which has 360 pages, constitutes Vol. 44, No. 4, Part 2 of "American Anthropologist" New Series. Oct.-Dec. 1942. Price $3.75. It has information on the Indian Missions in New Mexico. Other numbers in the Memoir Series treat of The Pueblo of San Felipe and The Pueblo of Santo Domingo.

The last four numbers (21-24) of *Ibero-Americana* (University of California Press, 1943) are devoted to "The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization" by S. F. Cook. The work contains much information on the California missions.

Future historians of Mexico will profit by the census which has been ordered by the Most Reverend Luis Martinez, Archbishop of Mexico. Not only are heads to be counted in the archdiocese; exact maps and property statistics will be prepared.

The Secretary of Public Education of Mexico has begun the publication of a new series bearing the title of "El Pensamiento de América". Thus far, four volumes have appeared, on the Mexican Vasconcelos, the Cuban Martí, the Ecuadorean Montalvo, and the Uruguayan Rodó. Each volume is opened with a prologue by its editor, and includes excerpts from the respective author's representative works.

Dr. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., of the Catholic University of Lima, Peru, is the author of *El monasterio de la Concepción de la ciudad de los Reyes*, which appeared in Lima in 1942 under the auspices of the Comisión Arquidiocesana de Monumentos y Obras de Arte Religioso.

The Chilean patriot, Bernardo O'Higgins, is the subject of a study published in commemoration of the first centenary of his death by E. Garrido Merino in the October-December, 1942 number of the *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, Buenos Aires.

To commemorate the fourth centenary of the founding by the Spaniards of the first European settlement in Antioquia, Colombia, the *Universidad de Antioquia*, of Medellín, publishes an address, "Derrotero histórico de Antioquia", by Luis López de Mesa in its latest number (February-March).

Edited by Vicente Lecuna with the assistance of Señorita Esther Barret de Nazaris, three volumes of the *Cartas de Santander*, covering the years 1816-1839, have appeared (Caracas, 1942). The edition was prepared under the auspices of the Venezuelan government.

The Comisión de Propaganda Cultural del Ecuador is to be congratulated on its new series, "Clásicos Ecuatorianos". The first volume to be published is actually the fourth in the projected series: a new edition of Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo's *El Nuevo Luciano de Quito* (1779), edited and annotated by Father Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S.J., with a prologue by Sr. Isaac J. Barrera. Of the series, Vols. I (*Villarroel*) and V (*Olmedo*) are in the press, while Vols. II (*Poetas de la Colonia*) and III (*Aguirre*) are in preparation.

Under the auspices of the Geographical Society of Rio de Janeiro and under the patronage of the Brazilian government, the Tenth Brazilian Geographical Congress will be held on September 7-16, 1943, in Belém, capital of the state of Pará. Further information may be secured by addressing the Commisão Organizadora Central do Décimo Congresso Geográfico Brasileiro, Praça da República, 54, 2.o, Rio de Janeiro.

The first centenary of the founding of Petrópolis, Brazil, was appropriately celebrated this year. Much of the city's history is connected with Dom Pedro II, second emperor of Brazil, whose body now lies buried in the principal church of Petrópolis.

J. Marino Incháustegui, who recently visited the United States under the auspices of the State Department, is the author of a work entitled *Crisóbal Colón y la isla Española* (Santiago, República Dominicana, 1942). This summary of much that is known of Columbus has, despite its title, little to do with Hispaniola.

Two other items from the Dominican Republic, both published in 1942 by the Editora Montalvo, Ciudad Trujillo, for the University of Santo Domingo, are worthy of mention. One is Javier Malagón Barceló's *El distrito de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo en los siglos XVI a XIX*, with a documentary appendix; the other, *La arquitectura del siglo XVIII en Santo Domingo* by Erwin Walter Palm, published in commemoration of the four-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of America.

The REVIEW rejoices at the appointment of the Right Reverend Patrick J. McCormick as the seventh rector of the Catholic University of America. Monsignor McCormick is the first alumnus of the University to become its rector. He took his doctorate in 1911. His special field is the history of education and for years he was chairman of the University's Department of Education. He is the author of a well-known textbook on the history of education.

Herbert H. Coulson, who was president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1940, is on leave of absence from his chair of mediaeval history at St. Louis University and is serving as an officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Dr. James F. Kenney, Director of Historical Research in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, Canada, was elected Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada at the annual meeting of the Society held in Hamilton, Canada, on May 25 and 26. Mr. Kenney is one of the advisory editors of the REVIEW.

Marquette University bestowed the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters upon Pierre-Georges Roy at the commencement exercises, Sunday, May 30, 1943. Mr. Roy had been archivist of the Province of Quebec since the Archives were opened in 1920 up to his retirement in 1941. His research, resulting in the publication of almost two hundred books, and the preparation of valuable documents for the use of scholars, has been credited with establishing a new school of scientific historians in Canada.

Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., of the Catholic University of America, has been appointed to give several courses in the summer session of the National University of Mexico. The serial article of Father Steck on "Education in Spanish North America during the Sixteenth Century," which appeared originally in the *Catholic Educational Review*, has been issued as a brochure by the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The Archdiocese of New Orleans has just celebrated the sesquicentennial of its establishment by Pope Pius VI on April 25, 1793 as the diocese of Louisiana and the Two Floridas. The see became an archdiocese in 1850. Its Cathedral of St. Louis is a link with the past. Since the diocese was created it has been used as the cathedral.

The parish of St. Ferdinand in Florissant, Missouri, celebrated in November, 1942, a three-day festival in honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the opening of its first chapel in 1792.

The Archdiocese of Milwaukee will observe the centenary of its erection as a diocese this fall. The archdiocese was created in 1875. Due to the war the celebration will be entirely religious in nature. St. John's Cathedral, now completely restored and enlarged after a disastrous fire, will be the center of the celebration.

The Diocese of Little Rock is likewise celebrating its hundredth anniversary this year. The see has had but three bishops in its hundred years. The Catholic population is less than 34,000. Bishop John B. Morris in announcing the jubilee remarked that Arkansas never benefited by immigration from Catholic countries.

The Sisters of Charity of Providence are observing their centenary. They were founded in Montreal by Madame Jean Baptiste Gamelin. The community of 3500 members carries on work that is very varied in nature. They have houses in the United States as well as in Canada.

Norwegian Catholics this spring celebrated the centenary of the building of the first Catholic church in the country in modern times.

This year marks a number of anniversaries in the life and activities of Frederick Baraga. He arrived in Michigan in 1843. It is the ninetieth anniversary of his consecration as bishop of the Upper Peninsula, and the seventy-fifth anniversary of his death.

The Diocese of Green Bay is seventy-five years old this year.

This year marks the golden jubilee of the American establishment of the Society of St. Joseph. The Josephite Fathers completed their separation from the Mill Hill foundation with Cardinal Vaughan's assent in May, 1893 and the independent American community began in Baltimore with five members. Their work has grown greatly since that time and they now have a large number of parishes and schools for the Negroes under their jurisdiction. The April-May issue (Vol. XXXI, No. 2) of *The Colored Harvest* is a commemorative number for the jubilee. The Josephite Press of Baltimore, Maryland, has published a thirty-two page illustrated brochure which traces the history of the Society.

Holy Rosary parish, largest in the Diocese of Pittsburgh, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on May 15, 1943. The event was commemorated by a little brochure on the history of the parish.

May 19 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law. On Sunday, May 16, a Pontifical Mass commemorating the event was celebrated at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception under the auspices of the Canon Law Society of America. Bishop George L. Leech of Harrisburg was the celebrant and Monsignor James H. Griffiths, vice-chancellor of the Diocese of Brooklyn, preached the jubilee sermon. He combined eloquence with scholarship, tracing the broad outlines of the history of canonical legislation and showing the benefits that have accrued to the world through its codification. The Reverend Dr. Jerome D. Hannan, editor of *The Jurist*, has published several articles on the Code in recent issues of the Catholic press.

Helen M. Baldwin, who had been assistant professor of history at Hunter College, died in December. She was the wife of Marshall W. Baldwin, president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1941. Mrs. Baldwin was the author of *A Survey of the Manor of Wye*, her doctoral dissertation at Columbia University.

Max Fleiuss, executive secretary of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute of Rio de Janeiro, and a well-known historian, died on February 1, 1943, at the age of 74.

Sister M. Theodosia, S.P., of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College died on March 23. She had written several historical works including the *Life and Work of Mother Theodore Guerin,* founder of the Sisters of Providence in the United States, *Lest We Forget,* an account of the Sisters of Providence during the Civil War, and an edition of the *Journal and Letters of Mother Theodore Guerin.*

The distinguished Russian historian, Professor Paul N. Miliukoff, died sometime early in April in France at the age of 84. He was the author of a large number of volumes on the history of his native country, works which were translated into many languages and influenced the teaching of Russian history in various centers. He visited this country early in the century and delivered the Crane Lectures, which were published under the title, *Russia and Its Crisis* (Chicago, 1905). Besides his historical work, he served as foreign minister of Russia under the provisional governments of Prince Lvoff and General Kerensky. He left Russia after the Bolshevist revolution of 1917 and remained critical of the Red regime to the end of his life.

Father T. Lawrason Riggs, chaplain to the Catholic students at Yale University, died at the end of April. Aside from his efficent work among university men Father Riggs had very wide interests. He was one of the editors of the Christendom Series and was engaged in writing a life of Joan of Arc at the time of his death.

Albert Bushnell Hart, professor emeritus in Harvard University, died on June 16 at the age of 88. He wrote or collaborated in the writing of approximately 250 books.

Documents: Journal of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, U.S.S. North Carolina, 1824-1825. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc., Mar.*).—Some letters of Bishop Henni addressed to the Reverend Joseph Ferdinand Mueller of the Ludwigmissionsverein, Munich. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed.) (*Salesianum,* Apr.).—From the Archives [a letter from the Franciscan Provincial at Innsbruck, Lucas Rauth, to Father William Unterthiner about the possibility of sending priests to Milwaukee and Nashville.] John B. Wuest, O.F.M. (*Provincial Chronicle,* St. John Baptist Province, Winter).

BRIEF NOTICES

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW, and R. V. COLEMAN (Eds.). *Atlas of American History*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xi, 360. $10.00.) It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of this work for the student of American history generally and, as well, for workers in the field of American church history. The atlas contains 147 black and white maps, in the making of which sixty-four historians acted as supervisors. Each map shows the area exactly as it was at the period pictured. From two general maps on the topography and forests of the United States, the contents run through the routes of the discoverers of America down to the United States in 1912. Plates 28-53 will be especially valuable for the student of the Spanish-French missionary period. Likewise the many maps covering the opening up of roads, canals, and railroads to the West will guide the church historian in the advance of the Church westward through the nineteenth century. An added feature of worth is a splendid Index of over sixty pages which renders relatively easy the problem of locating a given site. Another item of value is the fact that the *Atlas* is sufficiently light in weight to admit of easy handling; too many atlases are so heavy and large in size that their use is impaired. Among the supervising historians who guided the map-makers, readers of the REVIEW will recognize the names of Carlos E. Castañeda of the University of Texas and Jean Delanglez, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago. This work of composite craftsmanship should establish itself at once as an indispensable tool to the student of American and American church history. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

BARLOW, R. H., and GEORGE T. SMISOR. *Nombre de Dios, Durango. Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning its Foundation*. Edited and Translated with Notes and Appendices. (Sacramento: House of Tlaloc. 1943. Pp. xxv, 103. $2.75.) This paper-bound, but attractively printed volume, was inspired by a beginning class in the Náhuatl language attended by the authors at the National University of Mexico. In the Preface they state: "Our hope is to publish various of these Náhuatl texts, which are of very different sorts, because we are interested in the language and the origins, nature, and fate of the native cultures. There are many surprises hidden in this *corpus*. It is impossible to know anything of Mexico's pre-Hispanic history without reference to it; it is audacious to opine on her colonial history without the constant consciousness of her submerged and slowly assimilating natives, who speak to us through such texts. If two hundred volumes of them were brought out, one might feel a little safer." The second to last sentence quoted above is quite obviously a gross overstatement, if not, indeed, a serious misstatement of fact.

The nuclear documents printed are a Memorial of the Indians of Nombre de Dios, Durango, Concerning Their Services to the King, dated around 1563,

and an Agreement of the Mexicans and Michoacanos of the Village of Nombre de Dios, 1585. Despite the remarks in the Preface, here we learn that it is not the "submerged . . . natives, who speak to us through such texts," but rather natives blessed with a "meager" education provided by the missionaries, which included, among other things, the ability to write these documents. The documents printed, however, are nineteenth century copies, taken from MS. Number 93 in the Bancroft Collection at Berkeley, and previously used by Bancroft in his *North Mexican States and Texas*, and by later writers. The Appendices consist primarily of supplementary illustrative documents, the most interesting of which are the Relación de Pedro de Ahumada, 1566, and the Relación de Nombre de Dios, 1777. The two principal documents are printed in Náhuatl, Spanish, and English; the documents in the Appendices are in the original Spanish. The volume has a useful Index and Bibliography.

It cannot be said that the Náhuatl documents in this volume add much to our knowledge of the founding of Nombre de Dios. To repeat the statement made by the authors in the Preface, "If two hundred volumes of them were brought out, one might feel a little safer." However, the work should be useful as a textbook for a class in elementary Náhuatl. (J. Manuel Espinosa)

DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis. *Say the Bells of Old Missions.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. viii, 168. $1.75.) As stated in the subtitle, this attractive little volume contains a series of "Legends of Old New Mexico Churches." There are thirty of them, charmingly told by one who really knows how to tell a story, and all of them center around the religious life of the people. They breathe the atmosphere of New Mexico, the region which Lummis called "the land of mystery," and reflect the lessons of Christian living which many years ago the Spanish friars carried to this land and which to the present day continue to exert a tremendous influence on the daily life of the people living there. We need more books like this, sympathetic in approach and treatment, simple and entertaining in form, and correct in content. The Spanish Southwest is exceedingly rich in stories of this kind; and the present volume might well be used as a model by writers who have the rare gift, as this author, of telling a story in an attractive way. (Francis Borgia Steck)

Finley, John H., Jr. *Thucydides.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 344. $3.50.) The author of this study divides his attention about evenly between an analysis of Thucydides' work and a study of his intellectual background. The cause of the Peloponnesian War, as Professor Finley reads Thucydides, was Sparta's mistrust of Athens' unceasing growth and her determination to brook no rivals. But Thucydides sees in it the deeper conflict between a new social pattern and an old one. Athens should have won the war handily; she had an immense superiority in material resources and intellectual resourcefulness. But Sparta's one advantage in the long run outweighed all the wealth and brilliance of her adversary. It was her political stability, the outcome of her discipline. The democracy did not stand up under the stress of war; it split into factions and opened the way to unscrupulous and self-aggrandizing politicians like Alcibiades. Thucydides traces

with a mercilessly sure hand the agony of all that stood for the best in Greek life going down to defeat and ruin.

Thucydides' genius consisted in his taking such an analysis out of the realm of the abstract; his was the power to make clear the motives underlying the action of statesmen and states and to present their conflict not as the momentary clash of ephemeral individuals but as the struggle of everlasting principles. Professor Finley finely shows how in this attitude toward history he is the child of Greek literary tradition and of his age: of Greek literary tradition, because one of its constant characteristics is to portray the individual as representative of the type; of his age, because the transfer of this intuitive tendency to the realm of the abstract and scientific had resulted from the speculations of the Sophists in view of the new conditions created by Athens herself. They started from the premise, implicit in all Greek literature, that human nature is constant, added the cynical postulate that man always acts to his own advantage, and applied these principles to society as a whole. This doctrine of the Sophists made Thucydides conceive his history as a handbook for statesmen; he was convinced that the situation which he portrayed would reoccur in its broad lines and that his exposition of the forces at work would be helpful to the future leader in an analogous situation.

But the obvious objection to a history written with such a philosophy is that the author would be too prone to read a thesis into the events and distort them. Professor Finley proves brilliantly that Thucydides avoided this pitfall. Alongside the speculative Thucydides, the child of the Sophists, is the scientific Thucydides; here again the reflection of another facet of his many-sided age, its capacity for exact observation. This trait appears pre-eminently in the Hippocratic school of medicine with its painstaking study of symptoms but elsewhere as well as, for example, in the achievements of Meton in astronomy. Thus Thucydides realized that his handbook for statesmen would be useless unless he furnished a precise account of the symptoms as the basis of a diagnosis. Furthermore, the author proves that both the leading ideas in the speeches as well as the style of the work as a whole reflect authentically the Athens of Pericles.

The volume has maps and a judiciously selected Bibliography. *Thucydides* is a good book. Any essay concerned with a work of genius should create in the reader an appreciation of its abiding greatness. In this Professor Finley succeeds eminently. (Martin J. Higgins)

Fries, Adelaide L. (Ed.). *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* Vol. VI, *1793-1808.* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission. 1943. Pp. x, 2451-3017. Distributed free except for mailing fee of 25c.) This volume is a collection of extracts from the original German community papers of the Moravian congregations. It is a reference work of interest to the student of North Carolina minutiae. The material is not a complete record but rather an indication of what is to be found in the community diaries, minutes etc. The editor states that it has only been possible to include about one-twentieth of the original material.

There are many references that help to form a picture of life in North Carolina about 1800—changes in commercial affairs, war scares, education of the rising generation, stagecoach prices, effects of national and international

events. There are but two references to Catholics, one of which mentions that the Methodists had sent four missionaries "to Louisiana to work among the white people, most of whom are Roman Catholics." The other refers to a Catholic recently arriving from Ohio (1804) to take up residence in Salem for the practice of medicine.

The book is well printed and amply indexed. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

JOHNSON, HENRY, Professor Emeritus of History, Teachers College, Columbia University. *The Other Side of Main Street: A History Teacher from Sauk Centre.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 263. $2.75.) This "bit of autobiography", covering seventy-five years of a varied career, is at once a contribution to the social history of the Middle West, a commentary on the study and teaching of history, and an interpretation of the part played by Teachers College in influencing the historical profession of the nation. This last phase of a most enjoyable book is timely; by reason of the recent controversy begun by the New York *Times* over the lack of American history courses in our colleges, which has led to widespread discussion respecting the alleged subordination of that study in the matrix of the more popular "social studies". Teachers College, termed by one "the greatest institution of organized buncombe in the world" (p. 211), has been accused by several who regard the present situation deplorable, as one of the prime agencies responsible for the changing method. What Professor Johnson, whose philosophy of history dominated his department, has to say on the subject in his chapters entitled "A Higher Assignment" and "Balancing Accounts with History Teaching" is, therefore, pertinent to the discussion. It is to be hoped this agitation will not again lead to "pure history" laws and school-board regulations such as were attempted through pressure groups after the first World War (in this connection cf. G. S. Ford, *American Historical Review*, Apr. 1943, pp. 462-464).

The author, christened Henrik Jönson, grew up in Minnesota, had acquaintance with the Indians of his section, and before turning to history had been a farmhand, druggist, bank clerk, reporter, city alderman, and teacher in country, high, and normal schools. His recorded experiences in all these avocations are rich in anecdote and keen in observation. One "source of inspiration was a Catholic priest, Father Coyne", with whom he conversed frequently "about the University of Dublin or about Oliver Goldsmith or about the universe in general" (p. 95). Johnson's recollections of life at Columbia and of his associations with the unusual group then functioning in its department of history have special interest for the student of history. The teacher of history will find profit in the author's discussion of the functional approach to history which closes the volume. (LEO F. STOCK)

LALLOU, WILLIAM J. *The Fifty Years of the Apostolic Delegation, Washington, D. C. 1893-1943.* (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 41.) This attractive little booklet was written to commemorate the golden jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation which occurred on January 21 of this year. The author had previously contributed two articles on the subject to the *Ecclesiastical Review* of November, 1921 and December, 1936, and the present work is in part a condensation of these articles together with some new

material. As stated very modestly in the Preface, it is not intended as anything more than "the barest outline of the history of the Delegation." (p. iii). While that is true, we are grateful for this much authentic information on the personnel of the Delegation and its activity. The work is enhanced by five illustrations. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

LEBRETON, JULES, S.J., and JACQUES ZEILLER. *The History of the Primitive Church.* Vol. I. *The Church in the New Testament.* Translated from the French by Ernest C. Messenger, Ph.D. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd. 1942. Pp. 269. 16*s*.) All students of church history will welcome the appearance in English dress of the justly famous *Histoire de l'Eglise* edited by Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin. The original French edition was given a thorough review in this journal shortly after it came out (cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* XXIII, January, 1938, 477-480.) The work quickly established itself as the best general history of the Church available anywhere. It is for this reason that its translation into all modern languages is a thing very much to be desired. The first volume of the English translation has been made in a competent manner by the distinguished English theologian, Father Messenger. The only serious exception that could be taken to the work as it left his hands is that he did not include more of the bibliographical literature which has appeared since the original edition was published in 1937. Father Messenger has added a few items to the notes, but it is unfortunate that he did not go the full way and put this English edition completely abreast of recent research.

This first volume comes about as close to a definitive history of the Church from Christ's birth to the death of St. John as we shall probably ever have. It can be read in Father Messenger's smooth translation not only as a work of serious scholarship for students of history but as a first-class treatise in spiritual literature for those who care to take that type of reading in the solid character here presented by Père Lebreton and M. Zeiller, recognized authorities in the first centuries of Christian history. We can only hope that the war will not too long impede Father Messenger's efforts to put other volumes of the series before the English-reading public. There are a few printer's slips. For "most" one should read "must" (p. 150); for "Paal" the name "Paul" should be substituted (p. 175); "not" for "no" (p. 180), and the date "1930" instead of "1030" for the *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* in the Bibliography (p. 269). This history deserves the widest possible reading audience and for that reason it may be hoped that succeeding volumes of the translation can be issued at a cheaper price than the present one. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

MARX, WALTER JOHN. *The Twilight of Capitalism and the War.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 316. $2.75.) *The Twilight of Captitalism and the War* is another current book written primarily for those outside the classroom and devoted to an evaluation of our present capitalistic culture. In direct and simple language that avoids the heavy verbosities of professional economists, Dr. Marx describes and analyzes those individual and institutional forces which gave rise to the disintegration of mediaeval society and promoted

the industrialization of our modern economy. The author holds no brief for capitalism.

Taking the one great problem of twentieth century industrialism, viz., unemployment, the author concentrates his attack on the present social order by pointing out the many tragic failures of the present machine age to provide job security. He criticizes capitalism not only for its failure in a just distribution, a familiar indictment, but he holds that its claim to abundant efficient material production may be challenged. Our present credit and debt structure is vigorously denounced on moral and economic grounds. Probably most amazing from the orthodox viewpoint is the author's contention that the principle of division of labor, whether it be specialization locally or internationally, is economically unsound and productive of national and regional social friction.

Unfortunately, only the concluding chapter contains a program of positive reform; and in this broad outline one can find all the elements of the occupational plan suggestive of the corporate state. For this plan to succeed there must be, as the author indicates, a profound religious revival.

On the whole, Dr. Marx has provided a book, somewhat pessimistic in tone, that should provoke constructive discussion among those who are interested in a global prosperity and peace—that is, a peace based on justice and charity. We look forward to the author's next work enlarging on the program of reform. (CHRISTOPHER J. FAGAN)

O'SULLIVAN, JEREMIAH, and JOHN F. BURNS. *Medieval Europe*. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1943. Pp. xi, 770. $4.00.) The subject matter of this survey of mediaeval history is presented topically within a chronological framework of five books or sections of unequal length. The story of the Roman world up to 493 is compressed into the first and shortest section. Section two contains an admirable sketch of the barbarians before, during, and after their infiltration into tha old Empire, as well as chapters on the temporal sovereignty of the popes up to 824 and the Franks of the Merovingian period. The description of Merovingian society is particularly noteworthy. Section three treats of what Charles Rufus Morey recently wrote is "the characteristic medieval phenomenon, in any place and time, namely, the Christian religion" (*Mediaeval Art*, p. 3). The chapters on the establishment, organization, and doctrine of the Church, the fathers and doctors, monasticism, and the development under ecclesiastical patronage of education, art, music, philosophy, and literature are refreshingly positive in their point of view. The authors are, however, under no delusions as to the faults and failures of many of the members of the Church and suffer no "endemic perennial fidget", to use the words of Cardinal Newman (*Historical Sketches*, II, 231), about giving scandal. From Petrarch and Palestrina the fourth and longest section turns the clock back to Charlemagne and the story of the feudal world until the fourteenth century. This chronicle is followed by a series of fine chapters dealing with feudal institutions, the Church and society, economic and social history, the mendicant movement, and finally Islam and the Crusades. In the last book, Europe in Transition, the analysis of the economic trends and constitutional changes is very good. The Renaissance as such is omitted.

Because of the generous range of the work it may appear to be presumptuous to suggest additions. This reviewer, however, should like to have a more thorough discussion of the work of the conversion of the barbarians and a more careful explanation of the meaning of that unique mediaeval institution, the empire. Exception can also be taken to the not infrequent lapses into the should, might, and had sort of narrative. Factual inaccuracies—there are some—will undoubtedly be corrected in the second edition. A brake can then also be applied to some of the sweeping generalizations.

The reader and student will appreciate the Bibliographies that close each chapter and the select General Bibliography in Appendix A. The lists of popes and rulers in Appendices B and C, the maps, of which there are eighteen, and the Illustrations add to the balance of the text. The frequent source quotations should do what the authors expect they will do, namely, bring the reader into closer contact with mediaeval life. The Index is very good. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

RODAS, GUILLERMO VALENCIA. *El Proceso de la Cultura Americana.* (Medellin, Colombia: Ediciones Universidad Católica Bolivariana. 1942. Pp. 222.) There is a lively debate among historians as to the existence of any unified "History of the Americas." A fellow-countryman of Dr. Rodas, Dr. German Arciniegas, contended for the affirmative in the famous 1941 Chicago meeting of the historical associations. In lighter and perhaps more frivolous pages, Luis Quintanilla lately made the same point, with a few glowering remarks about the strongly negative view of Edmundo O'Gorman of his own Mexico. The classical expression of the thesis by Professor Bolton—whose *History of the Americas* is strangely absent from the Bibliography of the volume in hand—has been underwritten by the efforts of our national government toward Inter-American solidarity, and the venerable historian was graciously given a prominent part in formulating the official views in the matter.

Rodas attacks the problem under the guise of a sociologist, which he is, but he has, perhaps unconsciously, aligned himself with the Bolton viewpoint. More than that, his work is social history done on such a broad canvas as to leave the bounds of sociology and become pure history. (But that argument may better be left to the sociologists. Its discussion has no place here.)

The theme is that of an American culture. His America reaches from Canada to Tierra del Fuego. As one picks up the book, unconsciously there arises the fear that the Latin American treatment will excel that of Anglo-America, by so much as the latter is poorly understood and little studied in more southerly lands. A counter-work would be the volume of Cotterill, the *Short History of the Americas.* Cotterill bewilders the Latin American by his lack of insight into their culture, and the skipping treatment which he accords their story in his narrative. Rodas repays the compliment. He does indeed devote twenty-two packed pages to the elements of our history, but he fills these pages with observations which we should denominate quaint, even prejudiced, did we not realize the difficulty under which an author of this type must work. To cite but one of his opinions, he finds the individualism and the aggressiveness of our frontier movement to be a direct outgrowth of the religious revolutions. But then he relies there on Waldo Frank! Would that he knew Turner!

In tracing the rise of the Latin American culture, he stresses the supreme importance of religion as its driving and molding force. Here he is on firm ground, and his pages are well worth serious study. The place of the native races in this development is carefully reviewed. In fact the better part of the book works in this subject. Regarding the conquistadores, he makes the fine point that the Spanish state recognized their work as a *fait accompli*, and set itself to moderate and fructify what they had begun. Particularly for the colonial era, this book is highly recommended. (W. EUGENE SHIELS)

SWANTON, JOHN R. *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. vii, 332. 75c.) This is Bulletin 132 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution. It deals with a group of native tribes, known as the Caddo, who played an important role in the history of the Mississippi Basin. In this admirable and exhaustive study the author, a recognized authority on the subject, assembles "the principal materials relating to these Indians from Spanish and French sources." After tracing in a most interesting way the history of the Caddo Indians (pp. 29-121) from the expedition of De Soto and his men who in 1541 were the first whites to contact these natives, to 1894 when a Catholic mission was again founded for the remnants of the tribe, the author deals with their "physical, mental, and moral characteristics" (pp. 121-127), their "material culture" (pp. 127-159), their "social usages" (pp. 159-210), and their "relations to the Cosmos" (pp. 210-234). In the rear of the volume (pp. 241-300) are the original Spanish texts of three important documents on which the study is chiefly based, viz., Father Casaña's letter of August 15, 1691, Father Hidalgo's letter of November 4, 1716, and six chapters from Nicolás León's edition of Father Espinosa's *Crónica* of the Franciscan Province of Michoacán. There is an excellent Bibliography and a very serviceable Index. In addition to nineteen plates illustrating ethnological factors concerning the Caddo Indians, the volume contains five valuable charts depicting the former habitat of these natives in Texas and Oklahoma. It stands to reason that on the part of the author an intimate acquaintance with the widely scattered sources and a careful reading of them were needed to produce a study of this kind. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

WARFEL, HARRY R., RALPH H. GABRIEL, and STANLEY T. WILLIAMS (Eds.). *The American Mind. Selections from the Literature of the United States.* (New York: American Book Co. 1937. Pp. xx, 1520. $4.50.) This work, edited by Professor Warfel of the University of Maryland and Professors Gabriel and Williams of Yale University, offers a useful compilation of readings in American literature which will prove of worth not only to teachers and students of literature, but to historians as well. The material is divided into six major periods, in most of which matters pertaining to religious thought and history are given a fairly good representation. Added to its attractive features is a lengthy Bibliography, a Chronology of historical and literary events, and a good Index. There is no reason why the volume should not fulfill the need intended by its editors for supplementary reading in classes in literature and history.

Readers of this journal, however, will be disappointed at the very few selections taken from Catholic literature and history. This reviewer found only two, viz., Father John Carroll's letter to Father Thorpe of February 17, 1785, outlining his views on church-state relationships in the United States (pp. 250-252), and an excerpt from Bishop John Lancaster Spalding's *Lectures and Discourses* (1882) in explanation of what the Catholic Church was and what its relation should be to the civil government. The Carroll letter, incidentally, is not happily captioned, "A National Catholic Church." One notes omission of any Catholic representative in "Trends in Religions and Philosophical Thought" for the period since 1919. Under social thought Henry George, Jane Addams, Emma Goldman, Eugene Debs find place, but there is no mention of John A. Ryan. In "Frontier Thought" there is no place found for any of the material extant from Father DeSmet. In a volume which purports to mirror the American mind, one might legitimately expect to discover some notice of Orestes Brownson, Isaac Hecker, John Ireland, and Cardinal Gibbons. No one of sound judgment would, of course, expect that a very extensive listing of selections from Catholic authors should appear in a volume of this kind, but the reviewer does not believe it is asking too much for Catholic thought to receive more than seven pages out of a total of nearly 1500. The volume is well bound and attractively presented, though its use would be facilitated if it were not so heavy and difficult to handle. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

WILEY, BELL IRVIN. *The Life of Johnny Reb. The Common Soldier of the Confederacy.* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1943. Pp. 444. $3.75.) Among the men who fought the War between the States, whether in blue or grey, the writing of letters, diaries, and memoirs enjoyed the same popularity which it does among soldiers today. The archives and private collections of the South are happily replete with these several types of documents, and, with what must have been very laborious research, the head of the department of history at the University of Mississippi has made them the source of one of the most interesting and engaging studies in Civil War literature. Northern readers will welcome this work for the insight which it affords them into the human element in the armies of the Confederacy, while the author's own South will be pleased with his sympathetic attitude.

Professor Wiley finds that Johnny Reb was "in most respects an ordinary person." He was, generally, from among the middle class farmers, characterized by the virtues and defects of his class. "He was lacking in polish, in perspective and in tolerance, but he was respectable, sturdy and independent." Weakening of morale at home caused his own to waver, and it suffered yet more from nostalgia, sickness, and, in the end, the prospect of defeat. He complained of his trials, but he was resilient and cheerfulness never long deserted him. "He had a streak of individuality and irresponsibility . . . but on the battlefield he rose to supreme heights of soldierhood. . . . He was far from perfect, but his achievement against great odds . . . is an irrefutable evidence of his prowess and an eternal monument to his greatness as a fighting man."

Of a work of so many virtues it may seem carping to criticize the gathering of the footnotes by chapter at the end of the text; nevertheless, the necessity of paging back is annoying. (BROTHER J. ROBERT LANE)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Recent Literature of the Renaissance: A Bibliography. Hardin Craig, *et alii* (*Studies in Philology*, Apr.).

The Theory of the State: Edmund Burke. Robert M. Hutchins (*Rev. of Politics*, Apr.).

The Complexity of the Race Question. John LaFarge, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Hugo Grotius and the Scholastic Natural Law Tradition. Anton-Hermann Chroust (*New Scholasticism*, Apr.).

Prerequisite to Peace. John F. Bannon, S.J. (*Histor. Bulletin*, May).

Why the League Failed. Samuel A. Johnson (*ibid.*).

The Timeless Concept of Law, Observations on Hans Kelsen's *Law and Peace in International Relations*. Ervin Hexner (*Journal of Politics*, Feb.).

Saint Augustine on War and Peace. John P. Maher, O.S.A. (*Catholic Educational Rev.*, Mar.).

Aquinas Versus Marx. Part III. Alfred O'Rahilly (*Studies*, Mar.).

Christianity and Democracy. Jacques Maritain (*Commonweal*, May 7).

Democracy and the Social Studies. Sherman B. Barnes (*Social Studies*, Apr.).

Intercredal Co-operation in the Papal Documents. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. (*Theological Studies*, June).

The Church's Duty to Man's Earthly Happiness. Joseph Bluett, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Pope St. Eugene I. John J. Healy, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Totalitarians. Louis J. A. Mercier (*America*, May 15, May 22).

Catholicism and Fascism [an editorial]. James M. Gillis (*Catholic World*, June).

A Patristic Portrait: Basil the Cappadocian. Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R. (*ibid.*).

Papias and the Gospels. Robert M. Grant (*Anglican Theological Rev.*, Apr.).

The Date of the Last Supper. Samuel I. Fegin (*ibid.*).

Epistola de Santo Inácio aos Efésios. (*A Ordem*, Nov.–Dec.).

Apologia II de S. Justino [*cont.*]. (*ibid.*, Jan.–Feb.).

San Agustín y la formación oratoria cristiana. Narcisco Jubany (*Analecta Tarraconensia*, Jan.–June, 1942).

St. George in the Liturgy. John Hennig (*Tablet*, Apr. 24).

History of Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Michael Quinlan, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Jan.).

Ancient Native Crucifixes of the Belgian Congo. M. Maquet (*Belgium*, Apr.).

Cardinal Lavigerie and the Evangelization of Africa. Humphrey J. T. Johnson (*Month*, Jan.–Feb.).

Servant of the Servants of God. Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr. (*Church Hist.*, Mar.)

The Christian Church in the Last Seventy Years. Kenneth Scott Latourette (*ibid.*).

Patriotism and Some Related Aspects of Roman Character. Floyd Seyward Lear (*Rice Institute Pamphlet*, Oct.).

The Middle Ages: The Approach to the Truce of God. William Ward Watkin (*ibid.*).

An Edict of the Emperor Justinian II, September, 688. A. Vasiliev (*Speculum*, Jan.).

Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision. Robert S. Lopez (*ibid.*).

Piracy in the Baltic, 1375-1398. David K. Bjork (*ibid.*).

The *Esplumoir Merlin*. William A. Nitze (*ibid.*).

A Source of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. Morton W. Bloomfield (*ibid.*).

The Provenance of the *De Apprehensione* Attributed to Albertus Magnus. Vernon J. Bourke (*ibid.*).
Buridan's Questions on the Physiognomy Ascribed to Aristotle. Lynn Thorndike (*ibid.*).
The Wayland Scene on the Franks Casket. Philip Webster Souers (*ibid.*).
Charlemagne's Silver Celestial Table. F. N. Estey (*ibid.*).
The Dumbarton Oaks Program and the Principle of Collaborative Research. Wilhelm Koehler (*ibid.*).
Another Commentary on the *Prophetia Merlini* (Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book VII). Jacob Hammer (*Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, Apr.).
Before Copernicus: Nicolaus of Oresme. Edwin G. Kaiser (*America*, May 22).
Early Opposition to the Capuchin Reform. Fr. Gall Higgins (*Round Table of Franciscan Research*, Mar.).
Giovanni da Fano. Fr. Nathaniel Sonntag (*ibid.*).
Franciscan Patriots. Fr. Warren Schmidbauer (*ibid.*).
Early Capuchin Chronicles. Fr. Celsus Repole (*ibid.*).
John Maxentius and the Collectio Palatina. William C. Bark (*Harvard Theological Rev.*, Apr.).
The Doctrine of the Trinity: Its Development, Difficulties and Value. Canon R. D. Richardson (*ibid.*).
Jewish Mysticism. Rufus M. Jones (*ibid.*).
Magdeburg Jury Court Decisions as Sources of Jewry-Law. Guido Kisch (*Historia Judaica*, Apr.).
The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries. Ilse Lichtenstadter (*ibid.*).
The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization. Salo W. Baron (*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1942).
The Late Muslim Jewish Disputation. Moshe Perlmann (*ibid.*).
Jewish Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice. Joshua Starr (*ibid.*).
The First Mention of Israel. Eugen Täubler (*ibid.*).
Studies in the Communal History of Polish Jewry. Bernard D. Weinryb (*ibid.*).
The Catholic Church in Japan. Brother Memorian Sheehy, F.S.C. *Report, 1941-1942* of the Canadian Catholic Histor. Association.

EUROPEAN

Spanish Enigma. Thomas F. Woodlock (*Columbia*, May).
Necesidad de cimentar los estudios eclesiásticos en España sobre una base de sana pero severa crítica. José M.ª Pou y Martí, O.F.M. (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, Jan.–June, 1942).
Los nombres de lugar en el numerario suevo y visigodo de Gallaecia y Lusitania. Felipe Mateu y Llopis (*ibid.*).
El Kyrial español. Part IV. Germán Prado, O.S.B. (*ibid.*).
Sobre la traducción inglesa del "Libre del Orde de Cavalleria" de Ramón Lull. Carlos Claveria (*ibid.*).
El Cenáculo del beato Ramón Lull. Gabriel Seguí Vidal M. SS. CC. (*ibid.*).
Esculturas del artista montblanquense Guillermo Seguer (siglo XIV). Pedro Batlle Huguet (*ibid.*).
La traducción española de la "Imitación de Cristo". José Tarre (*ibid.*).
Una copia auténtica desconocida de los procesos remisoriales para la canonización de San Ignacio hechos en España, Texto inedito del proceso remisorial de Montserrat. Cándido de Dalmases, S.I. (*ibid.*).
Christophe Plantin and the Museum Plantin-Moretus of Antwerp. Louza Riane (*Belgium*, Mar.).
Catholicism in Scandinavia [*concluded*]. Peter F. Anson (*Pax*, Spring).
Some Origins of German National Socialism: Herder and Romantic Sociology. Stanley Godman (*Tablet*, Mar. 6).
Recent German Literature on Mitteleuropa. Paul Sweet (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, Apr.).

Central European Stability and Yugoslavia. Rudolf Bićanić (*ibid.*).
Danubian Peace. Rustem Vambery (*ibid.*).
National Socialism and French Colonialism. Fritz T. Epstein (*ibid.*).
Slovenia—A Zone of Strain. A. E. Moodie (*ibid.*).
Copernicus 1543-1943. Joseph A. Fitzmyer (*America*, May 15).
Poland's Jesuit King [John Casimir, 1648-1668]. W. Kane. S.J. (*Thought*, June).
Bohemia and Poland in Medieval Plans of European Organization. Otakar Odložilik (*Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, Apr.).
Problems of Early Seventeenth Century Polish Painting. Irena Piotrowska (*ibid.*).
The Protection of Jewish Religious Rights by Royal Edicts in Ancient Poland. Isaac Lewin (*ibid.*).
The Influence of Western Political Thought in Bulgaria, 1850-1885. C. E. Black (*American Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).
The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia. Waldemar Gurian (*Rev. of Politics*, Apr.).
The Catholics in France Since the Armistice. Georgette Vignaux (*ibid.*).
Russia and the Versailles Order. Ross J. S. Hoffman (*Histor. Bulletin*, May).
Autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine. William H. Maehl (*ibid.*).
Russia and Germany: An Historical Survey of Russo-German Relations. A. Lobanor-Rostovsky (*Russian Rev.*, Spring).
Russian Religious Thought: Its Origins and Development. Serge Bolshakoff (*Month*, Jan.–Feb.).
Religious Background of Russian Culture. George P. Fedotov (*Church Hist.*, Mar.).

BRITISH EMPIRE

St. Erkenwald's Shrine in Old St. Paul's. Gurney Benham (*Essex Rev.*, Jan.).
The Black Death in Essex. John L. Fisher (*ibid.*).
Chaucer and the Parliament of 1386. Florence R. Scott (*Speculum*, Jan.).
Recollections of Lady Herbert of Lea. Gwendolen Plunket Greene (*Pax*, Spring).
A Modern Carthusian: Dom Edmund Gurdon, 1864-1940 [*concluded*]. Dom Michael Hanbury, O.S.B. (*ibid.*).
Cistercian Abbeys of Gloucestershire. III. Hayles. Archdale A. King, (*ibid.*).
Henry Cardinal Manning. Philip Hughes (*Catholic Digest*, June).
Arthur Hinsley, Cardinal Priest of the Church of St. Susanna, Fifth Archbishop of Westminster (*Tablet*, Mar. 20).
The Catholic Rent of 1828. Myles V. Ronan (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Oct. and Dec.).
Father Hand, 1807-1846. Parts I and II. W. Purcell, C.M. (*ibid.*, Nov and Dec.).
Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France. Part V. Richard Hayes (*Studies*, Mar.).
A Calvinist Centenary: The Great Scottish Disruption of May, 1843. Colm Brogan (*Tablet*, May 15).

AMERICAN

The Local Historian: His Occupational Hazards and Compensations. John Walton Caughey (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Mar.).
The Production of Local History Plays and Pageants. Samuel Selden (*Bulletins of the American Assoc. for State and Local Hist.*, Apr.).
Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom. Willibald M. Plöchl (*Jurist*, Apr.).
Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776. Joseph Towne Wheeler (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Mar.).
An Archaeological Find near the Leonard Calvert House. Henry Chandlee Forman (*ibid.*).

The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656). John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Franciscan Studies*, Mar.).

The Poor Clares in Georgetown: Second Convent of Women in the United States. Gabriel J. Naughten, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Two New England Sects: The Rogerenes by Ellen Starr Brinton and The Osgoodites of New Hampshire by Kenneth Scott. (*New England Quart.*, Mar.).

Emerson and German Philosophy. René Weller (*ibid.*).

Philosophical Ideas at Harvard College, 1817-1837. Edgeley Woodman Todd (*ibid.*).

Emerson as American Scripture. Charles Howell Foster (*ibid.*).

William Hubbard and the Providential Interpretation of History. Kenneth B. Murdock (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Soc.*, Apr. 15, 1942).

Some New Facts about Eighteenth-Century German Immigration. Abbot Emerson Smith (*Pennsylvania Hist.*, Apr.).

Historical Traditions in Philadelphia and in the Middle Atlantic Area. Richard H. Shryock (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biography*, Apr.).

Missionaries from All Hallows (Dublin) to the United States, 1842-1865. Richard J. Purcell (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc.*, Dec.).

Philadelphia's First Diocesan Synod, May 13-15, 1832. Hugh J. Nolan (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc.*, Mar.).

Journal of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, U.S.S. North Carolina, 1824-1825 [*concluded*]. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Foundations of Catholic Sisterhoods in United States 1850 [*cont.*]. Sister Maria Alma (*ibid.*, Dec. and Mar.).

Irish Educational Contribution to Early New Jersey. R. J. Purcell (*Catholic Educational Rev.*, May).

The Hierarchy and Peace in the War of Secession. Joseph R. Frese (*Thought*, June).

Adam Gurowski and the American Civil War: A Radical's Record. LeRoy H. Fischer (*Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, Apr.).

Mother Alphonsa, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, 1851-1926. Charlotte M. Kelly (*Studies*, Mar.).

The Belgians in the North Country. Lee W. Metzner (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, Mar.).

The Beloved Mendicant, Moments from the Life of Father Francis Koch, O.F.M. (1843-1920) [*cont.*]. Benjamin F. Musser (*Provincial Annals*, Province of the Holy Name, Apr.).

Andrew Kloman, Founder of the Carnegie Steel Company [*concluded*]. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Apr., May, June).

A Forgotten Pioneer of Westphalia, Missouri [a review article of Nicholas Hesse's Das westliche Nord-amerika (Paderborn, 1838), which dealt with the early German settlements in Missouri]. W. A. Willibrand (*American-German Rev.*, Apr.).

The Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene Treaty of 1858. William N. Bischoff, S.J., and Charles M. Gates (*Pacific Northwest Quart.*, Apr.).

Nouvelle introduction à l'histoire du Canada de François-Xavier Garneau. Hector Garneau (*Le Canada Français*, Mar.).

Ville-Marie after Three Hundred Years. W. H. Atherton. (*Report 1941-1942* of the Canadian Catholic Histor. Assoc.).

The Excavations of Old Fort St. Marie. T. J. Lally, S.J. (*ibid.*).

The Right Reverend William Dollard, D.D., First Bishop of New Brunswick. W. J. Osborne (*ibid.*).

The Centenary of The Oblates of Mary Immaculate. F. E. Banim, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

The Missionary Journey of Father Peter De Smet, S. J. Robert J. McGuinness. (*ibid.*).

Arrivals and Survivals: Postscript to the First Annual Issue of the Montreal True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, August 16th, 1850-August 8th, 1851. Martin P. Reid. (*ibid.*).

La mysticité des fondateurs de Montréal. Victor Morin. (*ibid.*).

Monseigneur Ignace Bourget, l'homme et l'évêque. Elie-J. Auclair (*ibid.*).
La fondation de nouveaux diocèses et l'essor apostolique du Canada français sous Mgr Bourget. Olivier Maurault (*ibid.*).
La situation religieuse au Canada française vers 1840. Lionel Groulx (*ibid.*).
La part de M. Isaac-Stanislas Désaulniers à l'introduction du Thomisme au Canada français vers l'époque de la renaissance religieuse de 1840 à 1855. Lucien Beauregard (*ibid.*).
Le rôle du clergé pendant l'insurrection de 1837. Raoul Martin (*ibid.*).
Mgr. de Forbin-Janson, évêque de Nancy et de Toul, et le mouvement religieux du Québec vers 1840. F. X. Côté (*ibid.*).
Le Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe et la renaissance du Canada français de 1840-55. L. Sansoucy (*ibid.*).
Mère d'Youville et l'épanouissement de son oeuvre à Saint-Hyacinthe. Emilie Palardy Dupras (*ibid.*).
Two Legislative Unions [Canada, 1838-1848]. D. J. McDougall (*Culture*, Mar.).
Les préoccupations en histoire et les thèses de M. l'Abbé Maheux. Archange Godbout, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).
The Canadian Contribution to Historical Science. E. R. Adair (*ibid.*).
The Church of Saint-Michel de Vaudreuil [*cont.*]. E.-R. Adair (*Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Feb.).
Planning a Latin American Unit in American History. Albert W. Boldt and Clara M. Deck (*Social Studies*, May).
Our Pan-American Relations. C. J. Stratman, C.S.V. (*Catholic World*, June).
Mexican Problems. Frederick J. Zwierlein (*ibid.*).
The Folkways of Brazil [a bibliography compiled by Rex Gorham]. Karl Brown (Ed.), (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Apr.).
The First Half Century of Brazilian History. W. B. Greenlee (*Mid-America*, Apr.).
Ahsahwaince, His Hundred Years. Sister M. Inez Hilger, O.S.B. (*ibid.*).
An Alleged Spanish *Entrada* into New York. Thomas F. O'Connor (*ibid.*).
A Great Mexican Theologian: Francisco Xavier Alegre (1729-1788). Gabriel Méndez Plancarte [Eng. tr. by J. Manuel Espinosa] (*ibid.*).
San Pedro Claver, S.J. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*Christus*, May).
Recuerdos de mi vida [*concl.*]. Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores (*Christus*, Apr., May, June).
Misionero Cucateco promovido al episcopado, Mons. Alonso Manuel Escalante y Escalante, M.M.; Mons. Francisco Espino y Porras. Ignacio Dávila Garibi (*ibid.*).
Biografías de los abades de Guadalupe. Manuel Marcue y Mutio (*La Voz Guadalupana*, Mar.).
Cristóbal Colón no fué hebreo. Armando Alvarez Pedroso (*Revista de historia de America*, Dec.).
Antecedentes del Consulado de México, 1590-1594. Robert C. Smith (*ibid.*).
Nota Necrológica. Carlos Pereyra, 1871-1942. J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé (*ibid.*).
Historiadores mexicanos del siglo XIX. Rafael de la Colina (*Revista Hispánica Moderna*, Jan. and Apr., 1942).
Reflexiones sobre las Leyes de Indias. Niceto Alcala Zamora (*Revista de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Nicaragua*, Dec.).
Heridas y su tratamiento por la panela. Lisandro Leiva Pereia (*Revista Javeriana*, July, 1942).
Sobre la esclavitud de indios y negros en la América española del período colonial. José María Ots (*ibid.*).
La Catedral de Manizales. III El problema de la decoración. Eduardo Ospina, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Trouble in Bolivia. Martin C. Kyne (*Commonweal*, June 11).
Gonzalez Suarez y Montalvo. Luis F. Borja (*Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* [Ecuador], July-Dec.).
Los Sáenz en el Ecuador. Angel I Chiriboga (*ibid.*).
Plan científico de Colón para el descubrimiento y evolución de sus ideas geográficas. Armando Alvarez Pedroso (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Adams, James Truslow, (Ed. in Chief), *Atlas of American History.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xi, 360. $10.00.)

Aquinas, Sister M. Thomas, and Mary Synon, *This Is Our Land.* Fourth Reader. (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1943. Pp. 400. $1.16.) The Faith and Freedom Series of the Commission on American Citizenship is growing up. This volume is a history reader. Its stories and poems follow America from the colonies of New Spain to the end of the frontier movement. The art in the illustrations is excellent.

Bainton, Roland H., and Lois Oliphant Gibbons, *George Lincoln Burr, His Life; Selections from His Writings.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 505. $3.75.)

Barker, Ernest, *Britain and the British People.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 141. $1.25.) This little volume is a recent addition to the series entitled The World Today. Professor Barker is, of course, well known for his works on British history and government. He has here a brief chapter on "Religion and the Churches in Britain" where a sincere and generally successful attempt is made to present the leading facts of Britain's religious history within the small compass of some fifteen pages. Catholic readers, however, will not agree that after 1533 "the English Church became an independent part of the Catholic Church" (p. 83). For a quick survey for the general reader of how Britain came to be what it is today, this volume will be of real assistance. It is provided with a set of Illustrations, Maps, and an adequate Index.

Barry, Richard, *Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina.* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc. 1942. Pp. ix, 430. $3.75.)

Bemis, Samuel Flagg, *The Latin American Policy of the United States. An Historical Interpretation.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1943. Pp. xiv, 470. $3.75.)

Biasiotto, Peter R., O.F.M., *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name.* (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 188. $1.50.) This monograph is a dissertation submitted for the S.T.D. degree at the Pontifical Athenaeum of St. Anthony, Rome. It traces the devotion to the Holy Name from Christian antiquity through the fifteenth century. A Supplement provides data on the various societies of the Holy Name and an Appendix contains pertinent excerpts from the breviary and missal of the Sarum Rite on the Holy Name doctrine. There is further a fourteen-page list of Authors Consulted and an Index.

Boyd, Catherine E., *A Cistercian Nunnery in Mediaeval Italy. The Story of Rifreddo in Saluzzo, 1220-1300.* Harvard Historical Monograph XVIII. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. 189. $2.00.)

Brown, Louise Fargo, *Apostle of Democracy. The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1943. Pp. 315. $3.50.)

Burr, Nelson R., *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. 335. $3.75.)

Byrnes, Aquinas, O.P., *The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. xi, 694. $4.75.)

Case, Shirley Jackson, *The Christian Philosophy of History.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 222. $2.00.)

Casey, Sister M. Celestine, and Sister M. Edmond Fern, *Loretto in the Rockies.* (Denver: Loretto Heights College. 1943. Pp. xv, 314. $3.50.)

Castañeda, Carlos E., *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas. The Mission Era.* Vol. V, *The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780-1810.* (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co. 1942. Pp. 514. $5.00.)

Colby, Elbridge, *Masters of Mobile Warfare.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. 155. $2.00.) Colonel Colby has written rather extensively on military matters. He here gives four brief essays on Marlborough, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Mobility in Modern War. The work makes no pretension to be any contribution to military history but is intended as a popular treatise for present-day soldiers to acquaint them with some of the great personages and traditions of the fighting professions of which they are now a part. Unfortunately the volume has no index.

Davis, Edwin Adams, *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846 as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 457. $5.00.)

Elias, Robert H., *Adventures of Alonso: Containing Some Striking Anecdotes of the Present Prime Minister of Portugal.* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xxviii, 144.) This is Volume XVIII of the Society's Monograph Series.

Farnum, Mabel, *The Seven Golden Cities.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 225. $2.75.)

Farren, Robert, *This Man Was Ireland. The Song of Colmcille, the Exile.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. x, 229. $3.00.) An epic on the life of St. Colmcille written by a young Dublin poet to which is added a Glossary of terms.

Faulkner, Harold Underwood, *American Political and Social History.* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1943. Pp. xvi, 814. $3.85.) This is the third edition of a well-known text.

Fearon, Arthur D., *How to Think.* (San Francisco: College Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. 194.)

Gardner, Monica M., *Kosciuszko, A Biography.* 2nd rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1942. Pp. xi, 148. $2.50.)

Guerard, Albert, *Napoleon III, An Interpretation.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xxii, 338. $3.50.)

Haines, C. Grove, and Ross J. S. Hoffman, *The Origins and Background of the Second World War.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 659. $3.25.)

Halecki, Oscar, *A History of Poland.* Translated by Monica M. Gardner and Mary Corbridge-Patkaniowska. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1943. Pp. xiii, 336. $3.50.)

Halecki, Oscar, *The Crusade of Varna, A Discussion of Controversial Problems.* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1943. Pp. 96.) This is Number 3 of the Polish Institute Series.

Hammill, John Leo, *The Obligations of the Traveler According to Canon 14.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 204.) This monograph is No. 160 of the Canon Law Studies of the Catholic University of America. It is about equally divided between an historical synopsis and a canonical commentary. Father Hammill is a priest of the diocese of Ogdensburg.

Harlow, Ralph Volney, *The Growth of the United States.* 2 Vols. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1943. Pp. x, 620; vii, 663. $3.25 per volume.) Professor Harlow of Syracuse University has expanded his original one-volume text of American history, published in 1925, to the present two volumes. The narrative is carried on to the end of the year 1942 in de-

scribing American participation in World War II. Less attention is given in these volumes to the history of the Catholic Church than has been true of several similar texts issued during the last year or two.

Harrold, Charles F. (Ed.), *A Newman Treasury.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1943. Pp. xii, 404. $4.00.)

Hawthorne, Hildegarde, *California's Missions, Their Romance and Beauty.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. Pp. viii, 237. $5.00.)

Heaney, Norman Steward, *Public Trusteeship.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. 130.) This monograph is no. 4 in Series LX of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. It contains two Appendices of tables, an Index, and the study is carefully documented throughout.

Hitti, Philip K., *The Arabs: A Short History.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 224. $2.00.)

Hudson, Manley O. (Ed.), *World Court Reports. A Collection of the Judgments, Orders and Opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice.* Vol. IV., *1936-1942.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1943. Pp. xvi, 513. $2.50.)

Kelty, Mary G., and Sister Blanche Marie, *Early American Life.* (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1943. Pp. viii, 414. $1.28.) This volume is intended for the middle grades. It carries the national story from the period of exploration through 1812. The reader is attractively enhanced by numerous illustrations and maps, and the part played by Catholics in the colonial period is well integrated with the general text.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 441. $4.50.)

Lallou, William J., *The Fifty Years of the Apostolic Delegation, Washington, D.C., 1893-1943.* (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 41.)

Lever, Tresham, *The Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel.* (New York: W. W. Norton Co. 1942. Pp. xi, 320. $4.50.)

MacLaren, Malcolm, *The Rise of the Electrical Industry during the Nineteenth Century.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 225. $3.75.) A history of electricity, to which are added a series of 154 Illustrations, a Bibliography, and an Index.

Maritain, Jacques, *The Twilight of Civilization.* Translated by Lionel Landry. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. ix, 65. $1.50.) This little volume by the French philosopher consists of four essays which reveal the deep Christian issues at stake in the present conflict.

Mills, Lennox A. (Ed.), *Southeastern Asia and the Philippines.* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1943. Pp. ix, 150. Cloth, $2.50; paper, $2.00.) The new volume of the *Annals* of the Academy for March, 1943 is a symposium of thirteen essays on the history, geography, economics, and social development of various regions in and around the Philippine area. It provides an able accumulation of data by a group of experts who contribute the individual chapters. It can be secured from the offices of the Academy at 3457 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Myers, Gustavus, *History of Bigotry in the United States.* (New York: Random House. 1943. Pp. viii, 504. $3.50.)

Norris, Walter B., *Visual Outline of American Foreign Policy.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1943. Pp. iv, 136. 75c.) This latest addition to the Student Outline Series by a professor of the United States Naval Academy contains eleven chapters in skeleton outline, notes citing sources for some of the more important statements, a Bibliography at the end of each chapter, and a general Index.

Post, Albert, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 258. $3.00.)

Pratt, E. J., *Brebeuf and His Brethren, The North American Martyrs.* (Detroit: The Basilian Press. 1942. Pp. 66. $1.25.)

Proceedings of the Eighth American Scientific Congress. Vol. IX. *History and Geography.* (Washington: Department of State. 1943. Pp. 340.) This volume is a summary of the history and geography sections of the Congress held in Washington on May 10-18, 1940. Unfortunately many of the papers here presented are only in abstract or by title. Students would be grateful for a volume embodying the papers in full, for those which are herewith published make clear the value of having these subjects treated *in extenso.*

Proceedings of the Eighty-Seventh Convention of Catholic Central Verein of America and the Twenty-Sixth Convention of the National Catholic Women's Union. (St. Louis: Catholic Central Verein of America. 1942. Pp. 262.)

Prouty, C. T., *George Gascoigne's A Hundredth Sundrie Flowers.* Volume XVII, Number 2 of the University of Missouri Studies. (Columbia: University of Missouri. 1942. Pp. 305.) A critical edition, with Introduction, Notes, Glossary and an Index of first lines, based on seven of the ten copies of *The Hundredth Sundrie Flowers* (1571-72) known to be extant. In addition to making the text available, Professor Prouty has provided in his Introduction a complete re-examination of the many bibliographical problems posed by the work with much new evidence toward their solution.

Report, 1941-1942. The Canadian Catholic Historical Association. (Ottawa: Canadian Catholic Historical Association. 1943. Pp. 74, 146.)

Ryan, Edwin, *The Church in the South American Republics.* 2nd ed. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Book Shop. 1943. Pp. vii, 119. $1.75.)

Sheed, Frank J., (Trans.), *The Confessions of St. Augustine.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. xxii, 354. $3.00.)

Spellman, Francis J., *The Road to Victory.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. xi, 131. $1.75.)

Spinka, Matthew, *John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 177. $2.00.)

Sturzo, Luigi, *The True Life: Sociology of the Supernatural.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. v, 312. $3.00.)

Sullivan, Robert J., SJ., *The Tena's Food Quest.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 142.) This volume is No. 11 of the Anthropological Series edited by Professor John M. Cooper. The study is divided into two parts, on the Summer Food Quest and the Winter Food Quest. There are two Plates and an Index.

Warfel, Harry R., Ralph H. Gabriel, and Stanly T. Williams, *The American Mind..* (New York: American Book Co. 1937. Pp. xx, 1520. $4.50.)

Weinbaum, Martin, *British Borough Charters, 1307-1660.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. lxvii, 241. $5.00.)

Wellborn, Fred W., *The Growth of American Nationality, 1492-1865.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xvi, 1042. $3.50.) Fred W. Wellborn is associate professor of history in Iowa State Teachers College. This new text contains a Bibliographical Note of nearly a hundred pages and a good Index. The numerous Illustrations add attractiveness to the book. The vicar apostolic of London exercised jurisdiction over American Catholics down to the appointment of John Carroll as prefect apostolic in 1784, rather than to 1776 (p. 237). No reference is made in the Bibliography to any of the standard books in American Catholic history such as Shea and Guilday, nor is there evidence of any of the recent monographs of Catholic scholars on such subjects as immigration, e. g., the volumes of Kelly and Henthorne, or the studies on Nativism edited by Purcell at the Catholic University of America. Maynard's *Story of American Catholicism* is cited for a number of these topics.